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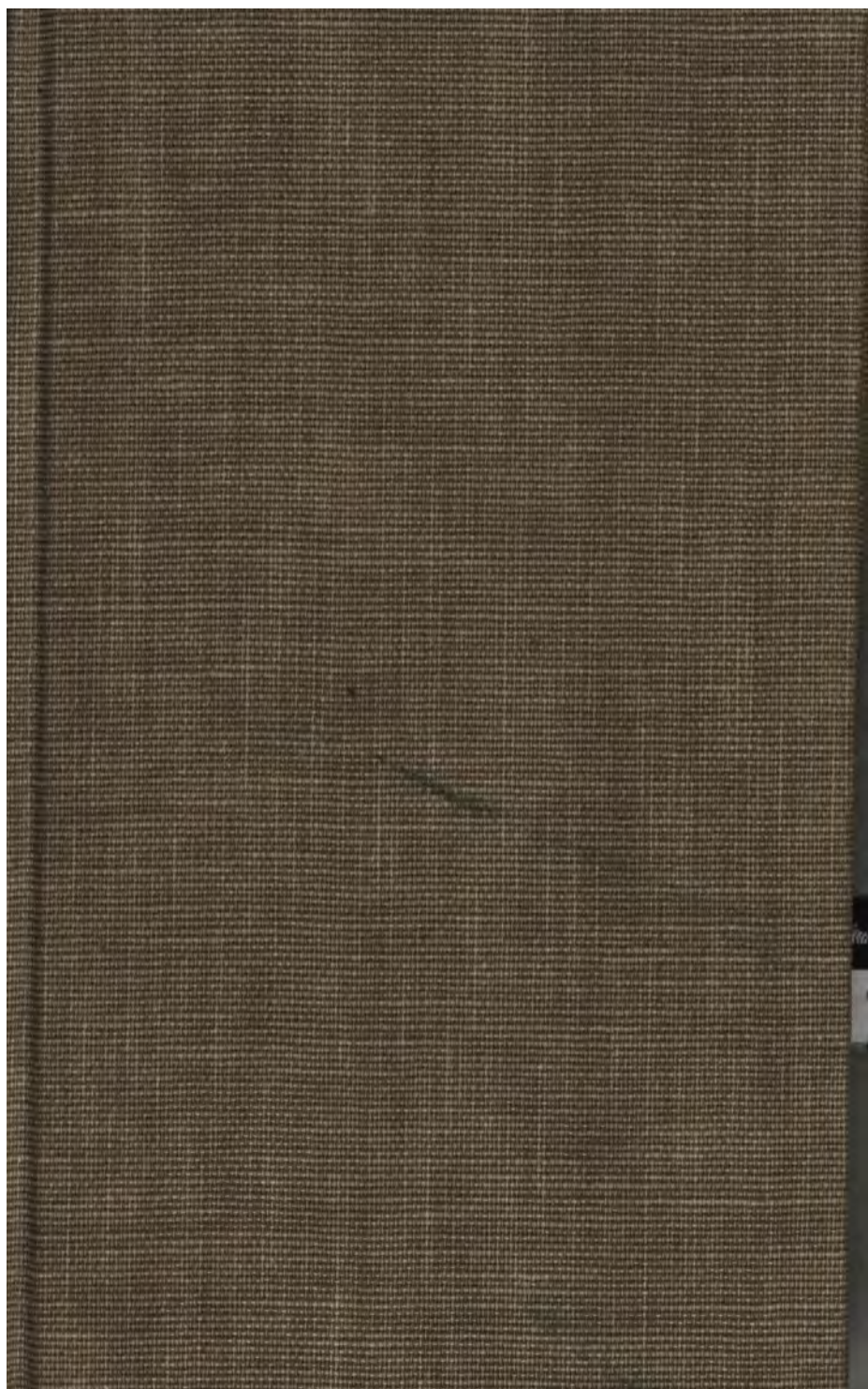
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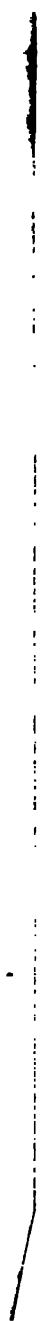
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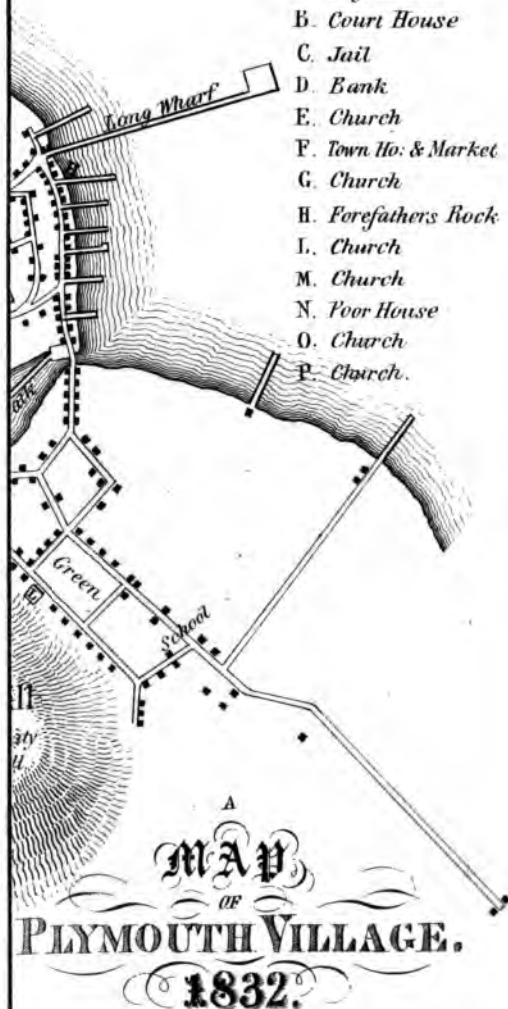
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- A. *Pilgrim Hall*
- B. *Court House*
- C. *Jail*
- D. *Bank*
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- G. *Church*
- H. *Forefathers Rock*
- I. *Church*
- M. *Church*
- N. *Poor House*
- O. *Church*
- P. *Church.*



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HISTORY
OF
THE TOWN OF PLYMOUTH,
FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT IN 1620,
TO THE PRESENT TIME:
WITH A CONCISE
HISTORY OF THE ABORIGINES
OF NEW ENGLAND,
AND THEIR WARS WITH THE ENGLISH, &c.

BY JAMES THACHER, M. D. A. A. S.

"Ask thy fathers and they will show thee; thy elders and they will tell thee."

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED AND CORRECTED.



BOSTON:
MARSH, CAPEN & LYON.
1835.

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PREFACE.

THE author of these pages feels great pleasure in acknowledging his obligations to the public that the whole of the first edition, consisting of 1250 copies, was disposed of within a few months after publication. The present impression is considerably enlarged and improved, and will present a full, and he trusts, a correct narrative of the pilgrimage of our puritan fathers, and a just delineation of their characters. From them we inherit civil and religious foundations, incomparably the wisest and best that ancestors ever bequeathed to their posterity. It is from their wisdom and virtue that we derive instruction pertaining to the radical principles which are recognized at the present day as the immutable laws of the rights of man, and their glorious achievements were highly prized and firmly sustained by the sages of our revolution, in 1776. Their ardent zeal and heavenly temper prompted them to labor in the perilous field of liberty, and their spirits, sustained by a holy trust, must have traced through the eye of faith the glorious destiny of future generations. While we trace, in their struggle for religious and political freedom, our inestimable institutions, and witness that their efforts in the noble cause are triumphant, we almost wish that they might awake to a second existence. But who can know the felicity the good spirits may now enjoy, as from their heavenly seat, they look down upon the scene of their trials, their sufferings, and their death, and see that the land they loved is free and happy?

“Go call thy sons; instruct them what a debt
They owe their ancestors; and make them swear
To pay it, by transmitting down entire
Those sacred rights to which themselves were born.”

Akenside.

To this edition of the work is added a concise history of the aborigines of New England and of their wars with the English, together with anecdotes and biographical sketches of their chiefs. This part of the work comes from original authority, and is closely connected with the history of our fathers while in their forlorn condition. It forms a distinct treatise at the end of the volume. This production is now submitted to the candid judgment of the public; the materials are derived from the most authentic sources, and are condensed in as limited a space as would consist with propriety and convenience. It is hoped that the reader will not complain of redundancy. Minuteness of detail is indispensable in the delineation of individual character, or in a faithful relation of transactions under the most trying circumstances. Should errors be detected in this compilation, the author would only observe, that *perfect works* come only from *perfect wisdom*, but if assiduity and care can bring any work to a respectable standard of correctness, he may, in this instance, have some grounds to hope for public approbation.

JAMES THACHER.

PLYMOUTH, Sept. 1st, 1835.

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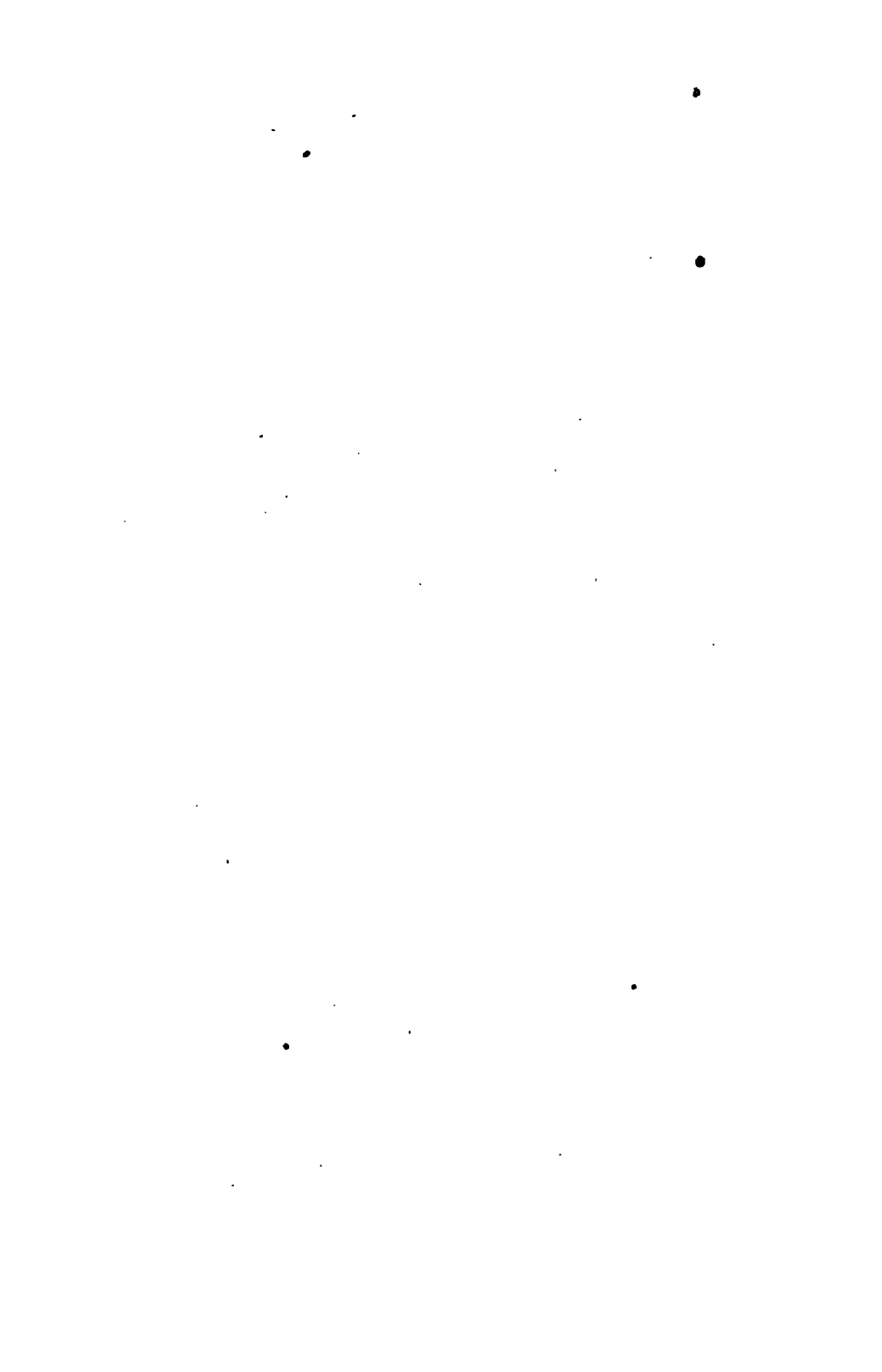
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HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH.

PART I.

THE imperious causes, justly assigned by the Pilgrims for their abandonment of their native country, and the numerous cruel obstacles, which they were called to encounter, even in their attempts at emigration, have been at various periods, and by the pens of able historians, promulgated to the world. I shall therefore omit these particulars without apology. It was in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James and Charles the First, that the wicked domination of tyranny and oppression, both in church and state, had become so intolerable, that a portion of their subjects in the north of England, were compelled to abandon the soil of their fathers, and subject themselves to the miserable condition of exiles in a foreign land. This little band of pilgrim brothers, cheerfully sacrificed all they held dear in their native land, for the inestimable enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. They constituted themselves into a church, of which Mr. John Robinson was the pastor, and under extreme embarrassment and difficulty, effected their emigration to Holland, and took up their residence in the city of Leyden, in the year 1610, where they remained in peaceful and quiet enjoyment about eleven years. Having numerous and insurmountable objections to the country of the Dutch, as a permanent residence for themselves and posterity, they deliberately decided on the ever memorable enterprise, of transporting themselves to this remote and unexplored region, where they might enjoy their worship, and opinions unmolested; well aware, that their religion and virtue might make the wilderness, and the solitary place be glad, and the desert rejoice, and blossom as the rose. And where, I would ask, is the event in Divine Providence, more worthy of particular and grateful commemoration?

It is a delightful task to retrospect to those interesting scenes, where in every step we can discover a christian faith, and holy

zeal, and in every exigence the guidance and protection of Almighty power and wisdom. While the establishment of a colony, and an independent church, were their primary objects, it was ordained by God, that our fathers should be, in silence and in peace, the founders of a nation. It is my agreeable employment to search the records of our ancestors, and collate the memorials of their cheerless days, to follow our pious fathers, and their immediate descendants, through the vicissitudes of two centuries, and compare their forlorn condition with the improved state of society in our own times. Not a step do we take, but we trace the footsteps of the pilgrims; our possessions were their possessions; not the town only, but the whole country is a monument of their noble sacrifices. In portraying the history of the town, we disclose the essential elements of the puritan character, and demonstrate the magnanimous spirit, by which the puritans were actuated and sustained. In the year 1617, the church under Mr. Robinson, employed Mr. Robert Cushman, and Mr. John Carver, as their agents to the Virginia Company, to obtain a grant of territory for settlement, and, at the same time, security from the king, that they should enjoy religious freedom. They met with many impediments, and returned in May, 1618, with encouragement from the Virginia Company relative to a grant of territory, and a simple promise, on the part of the crown, 'that the king would connive at them, and not molest them, provided that they carried peaceably;' but toleration would not be granted by public authority under his seal. In February, 1619, Mr. Cushman and Mr. Bradford were despatched on the same business. After long attendance, they obtained a patent, which was then taken out in the name of John Wincob, a religious gentleman in the family of the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to accompany them, but was providentially prevented. This patent, therefore, was never used, but carried, however, to Leyden for the people, and such friends and merchants as should adventure with them, to consider, with several proposals for their transmigration made by Mr. Thomas Weston of London. Finding all their efforts for obtaining a patent adequate to their wants and circumstances fail them, they negotiated with the Virginia Company for a tract of land within the limits of their patent, and resolved to commit themselves in faith and confidence to the protecting arm of Almighty power, and encounter the perils of the ocean, directing their course to Hudson's river. Their sufferings and perils during the voyage, and after their arrival, were unparalleled, but they were supported by a *noble fortitude* and a consciousness of a faithful discharge of religious

duty. 'Of all the monuments,' says an elegant writer, 'raised to the memory of distinguished men, the most appropriate, and the least exceptionable, are those whose foundations are laid in their own works, and which are constructed of materials, supplied and wrought by their own labors.'* It is incumbent, therefore, on the historian, to transmit faithfully and impartially to posterity the genuine materials, that the noble fabric may with facility be constructed and rendered conspicuous. If the glorified spirits of our forefathers can be supposed sensible to what passes in this world, where they acted their part; they must enjoy the most sublime recompense, in the knowledge that, by the wisdom and goodness of God, the little band of pilgrims have been multiplied to millions, and that their posterity are permitted to assemble in superb edifices to sing their maker's praise, and recount the toils and virtuous principles of the pious founders of our empire. The vessels designed for the transportation of the emigrants across the Atlantic, were the *Speedwell*, of 60 tons, of which Mr. Reynolds was master, and the *Mayflower* of 180 tons, of which Mr. Jones was master. A governor, and two assistants were chosen for each vessel, whose duties were to preserve regular order among the passengers, and direct the disposal of the provisions, and other necessary concerns. The emigrants being prepared for their departure, the *Speedwell* received them on board at Delfthaven, in Holland, July 22d, 1620, and proceeded to Southampton, in England, where they found the *Mayflower* prepared to accompany them. At the quay at Delfthaven, a multitude of people assembled to witness the embarkation of the first company destined to people the new world, and to unite their sympathies and prayers for their safety and prosperity. At the moment of their going on board, Mr. Robinson fell on his knees, and with eyes overflowing with tears, in a most fervent and solemn prayer, committed them to their Divine protector.

"The winds and waves are roaring:
The pilgrims met for prayer;
And here their God adoring,
They knelt in open air."

Whose imagination can paint a scene so vibrating to the chords of sympathy? Parents and children on bended knees, imploring the protection of heaven, when about to be separated forever from their dearest friends and possessions, and go they know not whither!

* Hon. Josiah Quincy, in the life of his father.

The two ships sailed from Southampton in company on the 5th of August, 1620, but they had not proceeded far, when the Speedwell was found to be too leaky to perform the voyage, and both vessels put into the harbor of Dartmouth, where the leaks were stopped. After which, they again proceeded on their voyage, but the same vessel again proved unseaworthy, and they both repaired to Plymouth harbor, where the Speedwell was discharged from the service, and all those who were unwilling to proceed on the voyage were dismissed with the Captain of the Speedwell, who, from bribery, probably, proved himself unfaithful to his trust, and the whole company was crowded into the Mayflower. This ship, after many disheartening vicissitudes, sailed from Plymouth, the last English port, September 6th, 1620, but, on her voyage, had to encounter contrary winds and boisterous storms, by which she suffered great damage, and was exposed to imminent danger. With much difficulty, she was repaired at sea, and enabled to perform the voyage. The adventurers made the land of Cape Cod, * the 9th of November. After some deliberation between the master and passengers, it was resolved to tack about, and direct their course to the South, according to their original destination to Hudson's river. But soon finding themselves among dangerous shoals and breakers, and the season being far advanced, they abandoned this design, and on the 11th of November, Old Style, † anchored safely in the harbor of Cape Cod, being in number 101 English settlers, including 28 females, who

* Cape Cod received its name from Captain Gosnold, who caught abundance of Codfish there when he discovered it in 1602.

† Explanation of Old and New Style.

The correction of the Calendar by Pope Gregory, in 1582, was not adopted by the British Parliament till 1751, when it was directed that eleven days in September, 1752, should be retrenched, and the third day of that month reckoned the fourteenth. This mode of reckoning was called *New Style*, or the Gregorian account, and the year was made to commence on the first of January, instead of the 25th of March, as formerly. The *Old Style*, or Julian account, is so called from *Julius Caesar*, who regulated the Calendar about 40 years before Christ. Before the year 1752, there was sometimes a confusion in dates, being difficult to determine, whether January, February, and a part of March closed the year, or began the new one. Hence the mode of double dates, as March 20th, 1676-7. This would be 1676, Old Style, because it would lack five days to complete the year, but in the New Style it would be '77, because, according to that style, the year commenced the first day of January, and March would be the third month of the new year. The double dating has not been practised since the year 1752.

In the Massachusetts Colony, our ancestors numbered the days of

accompanied their husbands, and 42 children and servants. The number of males qualified to act in state affairs being forty-one. On their arrival, their spirits aspired to heaven, and falling on their knees, they blessed God, who had brought them over the furious ocean, and delivered them from many perils and miseries. The original destination of the settlers was Hudson's river, that they might be within the Virginia patent; but according to the positive assertion of Secretary Morton, the captain was bribed by the Dutch Governor to conduct them to New England, and thereby place them beyond the protection of any English charter. This Providential event, however, proved auspicious to their enterprise and future prosperity, as the native inhabitants of the place had been destroyed by pestilence a few years before, whereas the natives at and near the Hudson, were so numerous, that a landing there would have proved extremely hazardous, if not absolutely impracticable.* On the day of their arrival at Cape Cod, they landed 15 or 16 men, headed by Captain Miles Standish, well provided with arms, to procure wood, and to reconnoitre the place. They immediately commenced repairing their shallop, that they might explore the harbors and shores. Well apprised of the value and necessity of a form of civil government to restrain the vicious and strengthen their momentous undertaking, these honest-hearted people, before leaving the cabin of the Mayflower, but not before solemnly invoking the Throne of the almighty, unanimously subscribed to the following judicious compact providing for equal and social rights, and promising subordination and obedience to the laws. This first essay in the civilized world to found a republican constitution of government, ought in justice to immortalize the names affixed to the instrument which has proved the charter of our liberties.

the week, beginning as the 1st, 2d, 3d, &c. to the 7th, which is Saturday, and the months, according to the Roman Calendar, beginning with March as the 1st, 2d, 3d, &c. to February, because they wished to avoid all memory of, or reference to, heathenish and idol names.

* November, 17th, 1620, William Butten, a youth, and servant to Samuel Fuller, died at sea, being the only passenger who died on the voyage.

December 15th, died, Edward Thompson, servant of Mr. White, the first death after their arrival at Cape Cod.

December 17th, died, Jasper, a son of Mr. Carver.

" 18th, drowned, Dorothy Bradford wife of Mr. Wm. B.

" 19th, died, James Chilton.

January 1st, 1621, died, Richard Britterige, the first who died in Plymouth harbor.

'In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are under-written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King, James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the christian faith and honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws and ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due subjection and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the 11th day of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, King James of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini, 1620.'

This compact was subscribed in the following order by

	No. in Family.		No. in Family.
Mr. John Carver,†	8	* Thomas Rogers,	2
Mr. William Bradford,†	2	* Thomas Tinker,†	3
Mr. Edward Winslow,†	5	* John Ridgdale,†	2
Mr. William Brewster,†	6	* Edward Fuller,†	3
Mr. Isaac Allerton,†	6	* John Turner,	3
Capt. Miles Standish,†	2	Francis Eaton,†	3
John Alden,	1	* James Chilton,†	3
Mr. Samuel Fuller,	2	* John Crackston,	2
* Mr. Christopher Martin,†	4	John Billington,†	4
* Mr. William Mullins,†	5	* Moses Fletcher,	1
* Mr. William White,†	5	* John Goodman,	1
(Besides a son born in Cape		* Degory Priest,	1
Cod harbor, and named		* Thomas Williams,	1
Peregrine)		Gilbert Winslow,	1
Mr. Richard Warren,	1	* Edward Margeson,	1
John Howland, (of Carver's		Peter Brown,	1
family,)		* Richard Britterige,	1
Mr. Stephen Hopkins,†	8	George Soule, (of Edward	
* Edward Tilly,†	4	Winslow's family)	
* John Tilly,†	3	* Richard Clarke,	1
Francis Cook,	2	Richard Gardiner,	1

† Those with this mark brought their wives.

* Those who died before the end of the next March are distinguished by an asterisk.

	No. in Family.		No. in Family.
* John Allerton,	1	ter, (both of Stephen Hop-	
* Thomas English,	1	kins's family.)	
Edward Dotey, Edward Leis-			

'This brief, and comprehensive, and simple instrument established a most important principle, a principle which is the foundation of all the democratic institutions of America, and is the basis of the republic; and however it may be expanded and complicated in our various constitutions, however unequally power may be distinguished in the different branches of our various governments, has imparted to each its strongest and most striking characteristic.

Many philosophers have since appeared, who have, in labored treatises, endeavored to prove the doctrine, that the rights of man are unalienable, and nations have bled to defend and enforce them, yet in this dark age, the age of despotism and superstition, when no tongue dared to assert, and no pen to write this bold and novel doctrine, which was then as much at defiance with common opinion as with actual power, of which the monarch was then held to be the sole fountain, and the theory was universal, that all popular rights were granted by the crown, in this remote wilderness, amongst a small and unknown band of wandering outcasts, the principle *that the will of the majority of the people shall govern*, was first conceived, and was first practically exemplified.

The pilgrims, from their notions of primitive christianity, the force of circumstances, and that pure moral feeling which is the offspring of true religion, discovered a truth in the science of government which had been concealed for ages. On the bleak shore of a barren wilderness, in the midst of desolation, with the blast of winter howling around them, and surrounded with dangers in their most awful and appalling forms, the pilgrims of Leyden laid the foundation of American liberty. — *Baylies, vol. i. p. 29.*

John Carver was elected to officiate as Governor for one year. Seventeen days elapsed before the shallop could be repaired fit for service; during the interval, the new comers employed themselves in exploring the shores in the long-boat, and traversing the woods on Cape Cod. On Monday, November 13th, the women were set ashore to wash, and their shallop brought on shore for repairs. The men formed a company to travel into the interior to view the land, and endeavor to discover the inhabitants: they were commanded by Capt. Miles Standish, well armed, and master Jones, of the Mayflower, being desirous of joining in the excursion, was made their pioneer. They spent

two or three days ranging the woods, and saw five Indians at some distance, but they were shy and kept out of reach. They discovered no houses, but found a large iron ship's kettle, and near it a considerable quantity of variously colored Indian corn in the ears, buried under ground in handsome baskets. This was a new article to the settlers, and they availed themselves of the opportunity to supply their wants. They carried away the kettle and a quantity of corn, with the honest intention of replacing them when opportunity should offer, which they eventually did.

The place which they visited was Pamet River, now in Truro. Whilst wandering in the woods they observed a young sapling bent down to the earth, and some acorns strewed underneath. Stephen Hopkins said it was a deer trap; Mr. William Bradford, afterwards governor; stepping too near, it gave a sudden jerk upwards and caught him by the leg; it was said to have been a pretty device, made with a rope of Indian fabric, and having a noose so ingeniously contrived as to answer all the purposes of entrapping deer. When the shallop was fit for service, 34 men embarked in her, and the long-boat, on an excursion to explore the shores in search of a place for settlement. They landed at the mouth of Pamet River, in Truro, to which they gave the name of Cold Harbor, the weather being extremely cold and stormy. From thence they marched several miles into the woods, without making any satisfactory discovery, but shot two geese and six ducks, which served them well for supper. In their travels they found sundry sand heaps, under which they found Indian corn, and named the place Corn Hill. They found also two or three baskets of Indian wheat, a bag of beans, and a bottle of oil. From this store they took to themselves about ten bushels of corn and beans, which afforded them essential relief, and supplied them with seed corn, for which they resolved to make restitution. Having marched 5 or 6 miles into the woods, they saw neither houses nor inhabitants, but came to a large square, having the appearance of a capacious burial-place. On digging in the ground, they met with mats, a bow, a carved board, bowls, trays, dishes, and trinkets. Under a large new mat were two bundles; on opening the largest, there was discovered a quantity of fine red powder, in which was enveloped the bones and skull of a man. The skull was covered with yellow hair, and there were bound up with it a knife, a pack-needle, and pieces of old iron. It was bound up in a sailor's canvass cassock, and a pair of cloth breeches. The red powder was a kind of embalment, and yielded a strong but not offensive smell.*

* A French ship had been wrecked on the shore of Cape Cod a

In the lesser package was the same kind of powder, and the bones and head of a little child; about the legs and some other parts were bound strings and bracelets of fine white beads: there were also a little bow and some trinkets. Whilst searching in the woods, two of the sailors discovered two Indian houses, from which the inhabitants had lately departed. They were formed with long young sapling trees, bended, and both ends stuck into the ground, and covered, tops and sides, with well-wrought mats. Within were found wooden bowls, trays, and dishes, earthen pots, hand-baskets made of crab-shells wrought together, also an English pail or bucket. Here were also deers' heads, horns and feet, eagles' claws, two or three baskets full of parched acorns, and pieces of herrings, and other fishes.

It now became a question with the settlers whether Cape Cod should be adopted as their permanent residence, or search be made for a more eligible situation. In their deliberation on the occasion, different opinions resulted. In favor of the place it was alleged, 1st, that the harbor was convenient for boats though not for ships: 2d, there was good corn ground, as was evident by the remaining stubble: 3d, it was a place of profitable fishing; for large whales of the best kind for oil and bone, came daily along side and played about the ship. The master and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, preferred it to Greenland whale-fishery, and asserted that were they provided with the proper implements £3,000 or £4,000 worth of oil might be obtained: 4th, the place was likely to prove healthful, secure and defensible. But the last and special reason was the unfavorable season, it being winter, and the weather was so exceedingly tempestuous, cold and stormy, that every movement was attended with imminent danger. And whether a more convenient place could be found, was very doubtful, as no one was acquainted with the country. On the other hand, it was urged, 1st, that the shore was so shallow that the men were obliged to wade in water over their knees in going to and from their shallop, by which many had taken colds and coughs, whereof some had died: 2d, there was a place called Agawam, alias Angawam, (Ipswich,) about 20 leagues to the northward, which had been reported as having an excellent harbor for ships, and better soil and fishing: 3d, there might be at no great distance a better seat, and it would be unfortunate to locate where they should be

few years before, from which they probably obtained the iron kettle and carved board, &c. The skull, with the yellow hair, undoubtedly belonged to one of the seamen wrecked in the French ship, three of whom it appears were suffered to live for sometime among the natives.

obliged to remove again: 4th, there was a scarcity of water at that place, and none could be had without bringing it up a steep hill. Besides, Robert Coppin, the pilot, affirmed that there was a navigable river and good harbor in the other head-land of this bay, over against Cape Cod, about eight leagues distance, where he had once been, and which, a native having stolen a harping iron from them, they had named Thievish Harbor. It was at length resolved to endeavor to make some further discovery within the bay, but not to range so far as Agawam. About this time an incident occurred which might have been attended with fatal consequences. A son of Francis Billington, in the absence of his father, having procured some gun-powder, made squibs and fired them, and finding his father's fowling-piece charged, shot it off in the cabin where there was a small barrel half full of powder, and many people near the fire, but no one was injured.

On Wednesday, December 6th, the company sailed on a third excursion for discovery; the weather was so intensely cold that the water froze every moment on their clothes, and two of the men were greatly overcome. On their approach to the shore at Eastham, they discovered 10 or 12 Indians engaged in cutting up a grampus, but they soon fled. Two other grampuses were dead on the shore, having been cast on the land; the fat on their sides was two inches thick, affording abundance of oil. The English landed on the shore, made a barricado, planted sentinels, and took lodgings beside a fire, and saw the smoke from the Indian's fire 4 or 5 miles from them. In the morning part of the company kept in the shallop, and the rest ranged the woods. A large burial-place was discovered, partly encompassed with a palisado, like a church-yard, and filled with graves of various sizes. At night they took their lodgings in the shallop, and at about midnight hideous cries were heard, and the sentinel called, arms! arms! but by firing two guns the noise ceased. About five o'clock in the morning the noises were renewed and they had only time to cry out 'Indians! Indians!' when the arrows came flying thickly about them. The English ran with all speed to receive their guns, and in a moment bullets were exchanged for arrows, but no exchange could be a match for the dreadful Indian yells. There was a lusty Indian, supposed to be their captain, who placed himself behind a tree, discharged three arrows, and stood three shots from a musket, till at length a charge struck the tree, when he gave a horrid yell, and fled. Eighteen of their arrows were taken up and sent to their friends in England, by master Jones, of the Mayflower; some were headed with brass, some with deer's horns, and

others with eagles' claws; but the contest ended without bloodshed on either side. It was about this time that the wife of Wm. White was favored with the birth of a son, whom they named Peregrine, being the first English child born in New England.*

After the skirmish with the Indians, the pilgrims rendered thanks to God for their preservation, and named the place the First Encounter. In the afternoon of the same day, December 8th, the shallop departed from the cape on a cruise of discovery, with the following persons on board:—Governor Carver, Mr. William Bradford, † Edward Winslow, Capt. Miles Standish, John Howland, Mr. Warren, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Edward Tilly, Mr. John Tilly, Mr. Clarke, John Allerton, Thomas English and Edward Dotey, together with Coppin, the pilot, the master gunner of the ship, and three of the common seamen, making eighteen in the whole. The pilot assured them that there was a harbor of which he had some knowledge, which they could reach before night. ‡ They were in the afternoon overtaken by a violent storm, the wind and rain increasing, and the sea raging with rough and heavy surges, by which the hinges of their rudder were broken, and they were obliged to steer the shallop by oars in the hands of two men stationed at the helm. Not long after, in their severe struggle, their mast was severed in three pieces, and the sails went

* William White died in the ensuing spring. His widow Susannah, married Edward Winslow, who was the third governor of the colony; this marriage was solemnized May 12th, 1621, and was the first marriage in New England. She was the mother of Peregrine White, the first child born of English parents in the colony. *Peregrine White* died at Marshfield, July 20th, 1704, aged 83 years and eight months. His children by Sarah, his wife, were Daniel, Sarah, Mary, Jonathan, Peregrine, Sylvanus. Children of *Daniel White* and *Hannah* his wife, were John, Joseph, Thomas, Cornelius, Benjamin, Eleazer, Ebenezer. Children of *Cornelius White* and *Hannah* his wife, Lemuel, Cornelius, Paul, Joanna, Daniel, Gideon, Benjamin. Children of *Gideon White* and *Joanna Howland* his wife, were Cornelius, (died 1779) Joanna married Pelham Winslow, (died 1829) Hannah still survives at Plymouth, Gideon (died at Nova Scotia, 1833), Polly still survives, Elizabeth, Experience and Thomas. Deacon Joseph White, great grand-son of Peregrine, resided at Yarmouth, where he died not many years since, and where some of his descendants still survive.

† While Mr. William Bradford was absent in the shallop, his wife Dorothy accidentally fell overboard from the Mayflower at Cape Cod and was drowned.

‡ It is not improbable that the pilot had visited this shore with Capt. Smith or Hunt, in 1614.

overboard. In passing the point called the Gurnet's nose, at the mouth of Plymouth harbor, the pilot finding himself deceived, and greatly alarmed, exclaimed '*Lord be merciful!*' my eyes never saw this place before; and he with the master's mate would have run the boat ashore before the wind in a cove among breakers; which cove is between the Gurnet head and Saquish point. But a more resolute seaman at the helm making uncommon exertions, and urging the oarsmen, the boat was with difficulty put about, and they fortunately reached the lee of a small island, in the midst of a heavy rain, and the darkness of night, where they came safe to anchor, and in the night they landed and kindled a fire. The next morning they found the island was uninhabited, and as it was the last day of the week, and extremely cold, they employed themselves in drying their clothes, cleaning their arms, and repairing their shallop. The following day, the tenth, being the christian sabbath, and the first ever observed in New England, they devoted themselves in pious gratitude for their preservation and safe arrival. As Mr. Clark, the master's mate was the first to land on the island, it received his name, which it still retains.*

Memorable Landing of the First Settlers.

On Monday, the 11th day of ^{Oct}October, O. S. they proceeded from the island in their shallop, to sound and examine the harbor, and to their unspeakable joy, found it commodious and 'fit for shipping.' A part of their number, no names mentioned, landed, went some distance into the country, and examined the territory contiguous to the shore, where they found cleared land which had been planted with Indian corn, two or three years before, and a beautiful running brook, and numerous springs of the purest water. Having selected this as the most eligible situation for a permanent settlement yet discovered, they re-embarked on board the shallop and returned to the ship, at Cape Cod, announcing to the anxious pilgrims the joyful tidings of their discoveries, and the cheering prospects which Providence had opened to their view. This, then, is to be considered as the first stepping on the Rock of the Pilgrims from the shallop belonging to the Mayflower, and this is the *birth day of our nation*. The day which has been annually celebrated in commemoration of this momentous event, the landing of the forefathers, is the twenty-second of December, N. S. which has hitherto been supposed to correspond with the

* See a tradition respecting this when describing the island, at the latter end of the volume.

eleventh, O. S.; but to reconcile the difference between old and new style in the century in which they arrived, only ten days, instead of eleven, should be added to their computation, which would make the day of the landing correspond to the twenty-first, N. S. If therefore it be desirable to celebrate the precise portion of time corresponding with their date, as it undoubtedly is, the twenty-first and not the twenty-second of December, should be commemorated as Forefather's Day.*

* The day of the landing by the exploring party in the shallop was Monday, December 11th, 1620, old style. This is established by the united testimony of Morton's Memorial, Mourt's Relation, and Governor Bradford's MS. History, as copied by Prince. In determining the anniversary of that day for any year whatever, the question occurs, what is the difference between O. S. and N. S. for 1620?

By order of Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, ten days were omitted in the Julian calendar, then in use, and the 5th of October was reckoned the 15th. This was done for the following reason. The Julian calendar proceeded on the supposition that the year was 365 days and 6 hours; but the time in which the sun performs his annual revolution is not exactly 365 days 6 hours, but 365 days 5 hours 48 minutes and $45\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. The civil year, therefore, exceeded the solar by 11 minutes $14\frac{1}{2}$ seconds, which in about 130 years amounted to a whole day, i. e. the true equinox would precede the civil one by about a day in 130 years. In the year 1582, this anticipation of the equinox had amounted to 10 days, so that the vernal equinox was now found to happen on the 11th of March instead of the 21st, as it ought to have done if the Julian calendar had agreed with the course of the sun. The Pope, therefore, ordered the 10 days to be suppressed; and, to preserve the accuracy of the calendar from that time, it was ordered that three days should continue to be dropped every 400 years, which was nearly equivalent to one day every 130 years. Instead, however, of suppressing a day every 130th year, whether common or leap year, it was thought preferable to make the correction in leap year only, thus leaving always 365 days at least in the year. Now in the former method of reckoning, every 100th year was a leap year; but it was ordered by the Pope, that every 400th year only should be considered as leap year, and the other centurial years reckoned as common years; the year 1600, however, being still continued as leap year. By making, therefore, the year 1700, 1800, and 1900 to be common years instead of leap years, as they would have been in the old style, the error arising from the odd time would be properly corrected.

The difference then between O. S. and N. S. in 1582, was ten days, and this continued to be the difference until 1700, the leap year being preserved in 1600; from 1700 to 1800, it was eleven

Immediately on receiving the happy intelligence, the Mayflower weighed anchor and proceeded to the newly-discovered harbor. She there moored in safety on the 16th day of December O. S., and thus terminated her perilous voyage. As the ark once bore the family of Noah and the destinies of human kind, so this modern ark bore the pilgrim family and the destinies of a future nation. This little family was now about to change the perils of the ocean, not for a friendly, hospitable shore,—not to receive the fond embrace of affectionate relatives and friends, but to encounter the storms of winter in an unexplored wilderness, and to listen to the yells of savages. An appalling prospect presents itself to the shivering crowd, as they stand upon deck, viewing the scenes of their future exertions and sufferings. But, instead of shrinking, the strong man nerves his arm for the new duties which he is called to perform, as the protector of tender females amidst the storms and cold of winter.

days, because 1700 in O. S. was a leap year, and therefore, another day was to be suppressed; from 1800 to 1900, twelve days; from 1900 to 2000, thirteen days; and from 2000 to 2100, still thirteen days; because 2000 is a leap year in both styles. Of course, then, the 11th of December, 1620, O. S. corresponds to the 21st of December, N. S.—the year 1600 being reckoned as a leap year, and, therefore, no day being dropped in that century. Now in the year 1769, when the Old Colony Club fixed upon the day of their celebration, the difference of styles had become, for that century, 11 days, because the year 1700 was, as above stated, reckoned as a common year, and therefore an additional day was dropped. For the same reason, the difference of styles for the present century is 12 days. But the true question is and should have been by the Old Colony Club, what is the difference of styles for 1620, and that is the true difference for that time, and continues so forever.—See *Rees' Cyclopaedia*, articles *Calendar* and *Style*.—Judge Davis's letter in regard to the settlement of Boston.—Judge Davis's communication in O. C. Memorial, Sept. 4, 1830. *American Almanac*, Vol. i. (in which however, there is an inaccuracy in stating this matter.)

The above calculation is corroborated in the following manner: By finding the Dominical letter for 1620, O. S. which is A, it appears that the 11th of December that year fell on Monday, conformably to our historians. By finding the Dominical letter for 1620, N. S. which is D, it appears that the 21st of December for that year would fall also on Monday, and the 22d on Tuesday, &c.—See the table in *American Almanac*, Vol. iii. p. 72.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the 21st of December, in any year, is the day corresponding to the 11th of December, 1620, O. S. and is the true day of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

Mothers tasked to the utmost efforts of their physical and moral powers, shielding their helpless children from numerous fearful objects, exhibit examples of unprecedented self-denial, entire devotedness, and high-minded virtue! And it was the consolation of all, amid their sufferings, that they had disenthralled themselves from ecclesiastical tyranny and persecution, and found an asylum of religious liberty and civil freedom for themselves and posterity.*

On the 18th and 19th, the master of the ship, Mr. Jones, and three or four sailors explored the land contiguous to the harbor, but could discover neither houses nor inhabitants. On the morning of the 20th, after imploring heaven for guidance, a considerable number landed with the view of selecting a location for settlement. The place selected was the high ground on the bank facing the bay, where the land had been cleared, and corn planted by the natives a few years before. Here were numerous springs of the purest water, and a brook emptying its current into the harbor. Here also was a high hill, well situated for a fortification to command the surrounding country, and affording a fine prospect across the bay. A violent storm arose at night, and the weather continued so tempestuous for two or three days, that these people, unable to return on board, remained on shore without shelter. On Saturday, the twenty-third, another party bid adieu to the Mayflower, went on shore and began to fell and carry timber, and make preparations for the construction of their house of common rendezvous. On the twenty-fourth, (Sabbath) the people on shore were alarmed by the cry of Indians, from whom an attack was expected, but it proved a false alarm. On Monday, the twenty-fifth, they began their common house, for rendezvous and for stores, which was twenty feet square; and no man was suffered to remain idle, although many of them, from a long voyage, were affected with scurvy, and others, from uncommon exposure to storms of snow and rain, were suffering under severe indisposition. Such was their industry, that in four days one half of their store-house was thatched.† It was one of their first ob-

* Had the month of December, 1620, been as inclement as December, 1831 and 1834, when our harbor and shores were an expanse of ice and snow, and the thermometer several degrees below zero, those whom we honor as our fathers and mothers must have fallen a sacrifice to the climate, and the story of the great enterprize of these bold spirits been lost in oblivion, or preserved only in uncertain tradition.

† In the year 1801, in digging a cellar, sundry tools and a plate

jects to provide for their security a platform for their ordnance, which they began to build on the twenty-eighth, on a high hill. On the same day they divided their whole company into nineteen families, that fewer houses might suffice, and measured out the ground, assigning to every person by lot half a pole in breadth and three poles in length, for house, lot and garden.—It was stipulated that every man should build his own house, but that the whole should be built in two rows and compact for greater security against the Indians. The inclemency of the weather and their own feeble health were essential impediments to their progress in erecting their houses, and many families were detained on board the ship until shelter could be provided on shore.

December 31st, Lord's Day. Although the greatest part of the company was on board the ship almost a mile and a half from shore, those who had landed kept the sabbath for the first time in their new house. 'Here, therefore, is fixed the era of their settlement, which in grateful remembrance of the christian friends, whom they left in the last town which they visited in their native country, they called *New Plymouth*.* This was the foundation of the first English town built in New England.'—*Holmes's Ann.*

Place of their location.—The place in which the settlers first located themselves for a town, is the whole extent of our Leyden street and its environs. This street was laid out by them when planning the town, and extends from the town square in a gradual descent to the shore, and terminates a little distance south of the memorable rock. During the first winter, the settlers buried their dead on the banks of the shore, since called *Cole's Hill*, near their own dwellings, taking special care by levelling the earth to conceal from the Indians the number and frequency of deaths. Dr. Holmes mentions a tradition, that the graves at that spot, after the great mortality in the first stage of the settlement, were levelled and sown over by the settlers to conceal the extent of their loss from the natives. An aged gentleman, Hon. Ephraim Spooner, since deceased, who gave

of iron were discovered, seven feet under the surface of the earth, on the spot where tradition places the common house, which is on the south side of Leyden street, near the declivity of the hill.

* "This name of Plimouth was so called not only for the reasons here named, (referring to Smith's map) but also because Plimouth in O. E. was the last town they left in their native country; and for that they received many kindnesses from some Christians there."—*Morton Memor. Davis's edition*, page 56.

this information to Dr. Holmes, received it from Elder Faunce, who died 1745, in the 99th year of his age, and who was well acquainted with some of the first settlers. Hon. Judge Davis relates that he has often had similar information from an aged lady, Mrs. White, who died at Plymouth, a few years since, and who, in early life, was intimate in the family of Elder Faunce. It has always been supposed that the remains of Governor Carver were deposited on Cole's Hill, and it is to be regretted that no stone was erected to designate the spot.

On reviewing the place where the puritan fathers first erected their rude, comfortless huts, and where Carver and half of his associates closed their mortal career during the first winter, surely enough enthusiasm will never be wanting to consecrate the ground with tears, and proclaim its sacredness to future generations. It is the ground, where, unshielded from the rigors of a boisterous season, our ancestors were compelled to erect bulwarks of defence against the attacks of cruel savages, while their hearts were pierced with the keenest anguish, by the arrows of death depriving them of rulers, parents, husbands and children !

The Consecrated Rock.—The identical granite Rock, upon which the sea-wearied Pilgrims from the Mayflower first impressed their footsteps, has never been a subject of doubtful designation. The fact of its identity has been transmitted from father to son, particularly in the instance of Elder Faunce and his father, as would be the richest inheritance, by unquestionable tradition. About the year 1741, it was represented to Elder Faunce that a wharf was to be erected over the rock, which impressed his mind with deep concern, and excited a strong desire to take a last farewell of the cherished object. He was then ninety-five years old, and resided three miles from the place. A chair was procured, and the venerable man conveyed to the shore, where a number of the inhabitants were assembled to witness the patriarch's benediction. Having pointed out the rock directly under the bank of Cole's Hill, which his father had assured him was that, which had received the footsteps of our fathers on their first arrival, and which should be perpetuated to posterity, he bedewed it with his tears and bid to it an everlasting adieu. These facts were testified to by the late venerable Deacon Spooner, who was then a boy and was present on the interesting occasion. Tradition says that Elder Faunce was in the habit on every anniversary, of placing his children and grand-children on the rock, and conversing with them respecting their forefathers. Standing on this rock, therefore, we may fancy a magic power ushering us into the presence of our fathers. Where is the New Englander who

would be willing to have that rock buried out of sight and forgotten? The hallowed associations which cluster around that precious memorial, inspire us with sentiments of the love of our country, and a sacred reverence for its primitive institutions. In contemplation, we may hold communion with celestial spirits, and receive monitions from those who are at rest in their graves. What honors shall we pay to the fathers of our country, the founders of that nation, which for ages, will remain the rich abode of knowledge, religion, freedom, and virtue!—Criminal, indeed, would be our case, were we not to cherish a religious sense of the exalted privileges inherited from our pious ancestors, and resolve to transmit them unimpaired to our children.

‘The man that is not mov’d with what he reads,
That takes not fire at their heroic deeds,
Unworthy of the blessings of the brave,
Is base in kind, and born to be a slave.’

Historical records are entirely silent as respects the person who was the first to land upon our shore and gain possession of New England ground. The claim has been contested between the descendants of John Alden and Mary Chilton, but the point of precedence must remain undecided, since the closest investigation discloses no authority nor a shadow of evidence in favor of any individual as being the first who landed. The fact is unquestionable, that the shallop of the Mayflower, after having tarried three nights at Clark’s Island, came up on the 11th of December, O. S. and landed her men on the main shore, but no name is mentioned as the first who landed. The name of John Alden is not included in the list of those who were on board of the shallop; his claim, therefore, must be rejected; nor was Mary Chilton on board the shallop. But the following traditionary anecdote has ever been regarded as correct among the Chilton descendants. The Mayflower having arrived in the harbor from Cape Cod, Mary Chilton entered the first landing boat, and looking forward, exclaimed, “I will be the first to step on that Rock.” Accordingly, when the boat approached, Mary Chilton was permitted to be the first from that boat who appeared on the Rock, and thus her claim was established. Among those who came in the Mayflower, were James Chilton, and Mary, his only child. Mary married John Winslow, and Susannah, her daughter, Mr. Latham.—The descendants of Mr. Winslow reside in Boston, and those of Mr. Latham in Bridgewater; and the tradition, we have reason to believe, is in both families. From the Latham family *have descended the Haywards*; the late Hon. Beza Hayward,

Nathan Hayward, Esq., (the present Sheriff of the county,) and the wife of the author, are lineal descendants.

In the year 1774, when liberty and the rights of man were the popular themes, it was determined to remove the hallowed rock from its original bed to the town square, near the church and court house, that it might be located beside the liberty pole. [This will be further noticed in this work under the date of 1774.]

January 1st, 1621.—About this date Francis Billington having mounted the top of a tree on a high hill, discovered at a distance, as he supposed, another great sea, and on the eighth January went with one of the master's mates to take a view of of the place. They found the water divided into two lakes, the larger five or six miles compass, the smaller, three miles.

January 12th.—Two of the settlers, John Goodman and Peter Brown, being abroad gathering thatch, came to a lake of water, (probably Murdock's pond) near which they discovered a fine large deer; their two dogs chased the animal, and they followed till they were lost, and could not find their way back. They wandered till night, being lightly clad, and without weapons or food, amidst frost and snow; and were obliged to make the cold earth their bed, and the clouds their covering. In the night they were greatly alarmed by noises which they supposed to be the roaring of lions. In their fright they mounted a tree for safety, which they found to be an intolerably cold lodging, and they sometimes walked under the tree in readiness to climb, holding their bitch by the neck lest she should rush into the lions' paws. But fortunately the lions came not, and at an early dawn they renewed their wanderings, which they continued through the day. At night they reached the settlement almost famished with cold and hunger, having mistaken the howling of wolves for the roaring of lions.

Their friends at the settlement, being greatly alarmed on account of their absence, sent out ten or twelve armed men, who traversed the woods all day in vain, and returned with strong apprehensions that they were taken by the Indians. It was not long after the arrival of the planters, that the natives assembled all their pawaws in a dark swamp, to curse the new comers; for three days they continued their horrid incantation, and consigned the English to utter destruction. It is to be regretted that we cannot ascertain the spot where this swamp was located, nor the particular tribe that acted in this diabolical business.

January 14th.—The settlers had the misfortune of losing their common house by fire, from a spark, which falling among the dry thatch, entirely consumed it. It was remarkable, that, at

the moment of this disaster, Governor Carver, and Mr. William Bradford were sick in their beds. The floor of the house was covered with beds and bedding, muskets were loaded, and a quantity of powder was stored within, yet little damage was sustained. The people on board the ship, seeing the fire, and unable to come on shore by reason of low tide and very tempestuous weather, were under painful apprehensions that the savages had attacked them. It being Sunday, and the major part of the people on shore, they performed public worship in their settlement.

January 19th.—John Goodman, who had been lost in the woods, took it into his head again to ramble into the woods; having a spaniel with him, it was soon attacked by two wolves. The dog flew to the legs of his master for safety, and he having no weapon, snatched a stick for defence; the wolves sat some time on their tails grinning and snarling at the affrighted man, but at length suffered him to escape.

The wife of Capt. Standish, and some others of their number, died this month.

February.—Twelve Indians were discovered in the woods, but no interview could be had with them. A general meeting was called to establish some military arrangements, and Miles Standish was chosen Captain, and vested with command accordingly. During the meeting, two Indians presented themselves on the top of the hill, on the opposite side of the brook, and made signs for the English to come to them, but, on the approach of Capt. Standish and Mr. Hopkins, they fled.

21st.—Capt. Jones, of the Mayflower, brought on shore one of the greatest pieces of cannon, called a *minion*, and he and his sailors assisted the settlers to drag that, and another piece, up the hill, with three small pieces, which they mounted for defence.

The settlers suffered extremely this month by sickness and death: no less than seventeen* of their number died during the month; and the sick were destitute of almost all the comforts which their miserable condition rendered indispensable. Their sufferings were increased by the want of well persons to perform the duties among the sick, there being, at one time, not more than six or seven in tolerable health. But it is recorded, that Standish and Brewster manifested the tenderest concern, and devoted themselves, with unwearied assiduity, to the relief and comfort of their suffering brethren, not declining the meanest office. In March, 1621, fifty-five only survived of the one hundred and one who came in the Mayflower.

*Of this number was Mary, wife of Isaac Allerton, who died *Feb. 25th, O. S.*

March 3d.—The weather was fair and warm, and the planters were delighted to hear the singing of American birds in the woods. ✓

16th.—Much surprise was excited by the appearance of an Indian who boldly walked to the rendezvous, and cried out cheeringly in broken English—'Welcome Englishmen, welcome Englishmen.' This was Samoset, a Sagamore, who had come from Monhiggon, (District of Maine,) where he had learned something of the English tongue from the Captains of the fishing vessels, on that shore, and he knew by name most of those commanders. This was the first savage with whom the whites had obtained an interview. No incident could have diffused greater joy in the hearts of the disconsolate and the infirm; it seemed like an angelic herald to the sick and dying. Samoset discoursed as though he possessed a general knowledge of the whole surrounding country, and the numbers and strength of the several tribes. He said that the place they now occupy is called Patuxet, and that about four years ago all the natives died of an extraordinary plague; that there was neither man, woman, nor child remaining in the territory, of which the English had now possessed themselves. He was a tall, erect man, and had a bow and two arrows. The English treated him with their best food and drink; and as he was inclined to tarry all night, they provided him a lodging and watched his movements. The next day he returned to a neighboring tribe, from whence he said he came last. He represented the Nausets as being highly incensed and provoked against the English, three of whom were, about eight months ago, slain by the Nausets. Their enmity was caused by one Hunt, a master of a ship, who, a few years ago, deceived the natives, and under pretence of trading with them, got twenty of the people of this very place, Patuxet, and seven from the Nausets, on board his ship, and carried them off and sold them for slaves, at twenty pounds a head.*

* Thomas Hunt commanded one of the ships, with which Capt. Smith came to New England, in 1614. Smith sailed for England in July, and left Hunt with directions to procure a cargo, and proceed to Spain. His atrocious conduct is thus related by Prince, from Smith, Mourt, &c. "After Smith left New England, Hunt gets 20 Indians on board him at Patuxet, one of whom is called *Squanto* or *Squantum* or *Tisquantum*, and 7 more of Nauset, and carried them to Malaga, sells them for slaves at £20 a man, which raises such an enmity in the savages against our nation, as makes further attempts of commerce with them very dangerous." "Smith, humane and generous as he was intrepid, indignantly reprobates the base conduct of Hunt." Many of these helpless captives, it appears.

On his departure, the English gave him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring; and he promised to return soon and bring other natives with him, with such beaver skins as they could collect. Not many days after, being Sunday, Samoset returned with five tall savages, dressed in deer skins, their hair cut short before, but long to their shoulders behind, and ornamented with feathers and fox-tails, and the principal had a wild-cat's skin on one arm. Their faces were painted in various colors and figures. They left their bows and arrows at some distance from the settlement, according to the charge given by the English to Samoset. They made signs of amity and friendship, and amused the English with their dancing and singing, who in return gave them a suitable entertainment. They brought with them some corn, parched, and reduced to a fine powder, called *Nokehike* or *Nocake* which they eat mixed with water; and they had a little tobacco in a bag, of which they drank* frequently. They brought with them, also, all the tools belonging to the English, which had been taken when left in the woods. They offered a few skins to trade, but, being Sunday, the English dismissed them soon, desiring them to return with more skins, which they promised. But Samoset either was sick, or feigned himself so, and would tarry till the next Wednesday, when the English gave him a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, shirt, &c. and sent him to inquire why his friends did not return.

✓ *Thursday, April 2d.*—Samoset arrived, bringing with him Squanto, alias Tisquantum, the only surviving native of Patuxet, who was one of the twenty captives carried away by the infamous Hunt; he had been in England, and could speak a little English. Three others came with him, and brought a few skins to "truck," and some red herrings, newly taken and dried, but not salted. They gave information, that their great Sagamore, Massasoit, was approaching, with Quadequina, his brother, and all their tribe, and, within an hour, the king appeared were rescued from slavery by the benevolent interposition of some of the Monks in Malaga. Squanto was probably one, who was thus relieved and liberated. He found a friend in Mr. Slaney in England, by whose assistance he was enabled to return to his native land, on board of Captain Thomas Dermer's vessel in 1619.

* The term drinking tobacco is frequently used in the records. In the year 1646, we find this entry in the Plymouth records. "Anthony Thacher and George Pole were chosen a committee to draw up an order concerning disorderly drinking tobacco." It undoubtedly means smoking tobacco. An aged man in this town who was a great smoker used to term it drinking tobacco.

on the top of an opposite hill, and had in his train sixty men, which he displayed to view. This hill is on the south side of Town brook, and is called Watson's hill, but the brook, which they forded, is now covered with an arched stone bridge. Both parties being unwilling to advance, Squanto went over to Massasoit, and returned with the message, that he desired peace and a trade with the English. The governor then sent Mr. Edward Winslow, with a pair of knives and a copper chain with a jewel in it, for the king, and for Quadequina, a knife and a jewel to hang in his ear, a pot of strong water, a quantity of biscuit, and some butter, all of which were well received. Mr. Winslow addressed Massasoit in the name of king James, assuring him, that the king saluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally; and that the governor desired to see him, and confirm a trade and peace with him as his next neighbor. Massasoit was well pleased with the speech, and after eating and drinking, gave the remains to his people. He looked on Mr. Winslow's sword and armor with a desire to buy them, but he refused to gratify him. Massasoit now left Mr. Winslow in the custody of Quadequina, his brother, and came over the brook with twenty men, leaving all their bows and arrows behind them. Captain Standish and Mr. Williamson, with six musketeers, met the king at the brook, and each party saluted the other, when the king was conducted to a house then partly built, where were placed a green rug and three or four cushions. Governor Carver now appeared with a drum and trumpet, and a few musketeers. After salutations, the governor kissed the king's hand, who, in return, kissed him, and they seated themselves; but the king all the time trembled for fear. The governor called for some strong water and drank to him, and he drank a copious draught, which made him sweat a long time after. Massasoit and his people having partaken of some fresh meat, the following terms of peace were mutually agreed to.

1. That neither he, nor any of his, should injure, or do hurt, to any of the English.

2. If any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him.

3. That if any of our tools were taken away, when our people were at work, he should cause them to be restored, and if ours did harm to any of his, we should do the like to them.

4. If any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him; if any did war against us, he should aid us.

5. He should send to his neighboring confederates, to certify

them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.

6. That when their men came, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces when we went to them.

Lastly, that doing thus, king James would esteem him as his friend and ally.* The above treaty was pleasing to the Sachem and approved by his people.† In his person, the king was a lusty, able-bodied man, and in his countenance, grave. His attire differed little from that of his people, except a great chain of beads of white bone about his neck. 'His face was painted with a dull, red-like murry, and oiled, both head and face, so that he looked greasily.' He had in his bosom, hanging in a string, a large, long knife; he marvelled much at the trumpet, and made some attempts to sound it. All his followers were painted of divers colors, some were clothed with skins, and some were naked. Samoset and Squanto tarried all night with the English; and the king and his people, with their wives and children, spent the night in the adjacent woods. They said that within eight or nine days, they would come and set corn on the other side of the brook, and dwell there all summer. That night the English kept a good watch, but no danger occurred, and the next morning several of the savages visited the English, with the hope, as supposed, of obtaining some food. Some of them said the king wished some of the English to come and see him. Captain Standish and Isaac Allerton went venturously, and were welcomed, and presented with three or four ground-nuts and some tobacco. Massasoit, being at war with a potent adversary, the Narragansets, manifested every disposition to be at peace and friend-

* 'The New Plymouth associates, by the favor of the Almighty, began the colony in New England, at a place called by the natives, Apaum, alias Patuxet; all the lands being void of inhabitants, we, the said John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton, and the rest of our associates, entering into a league of peace with Massasoit, since called Woosamequin, Prince or Sachem of those parts: he, the said Massasoit, freely gave them all the lands adjacent to them, and their heirs forever.' ['Preface to Plymouth laws, declaring the warrantable grounds and proceeding of the government of New Plymouth.']—*Holmes's Annals*.

† This treaty, the work of one day, being honestly intended on both sides, was kept with fidelity as long as Massasoit lived, but was afterwards (in 1675) broken by Philip, his successor.'—*Belknap's Biography*. The character of Massasoit will be found in the appendix.

ship with the English, whose fire-arms were a great terror to his enemies.

At a meeting in April on common business, Mr. Carver was confirmed in the office of governor for one year.

The Mayflower was detained a considerable time, in consequence of sickness and deaths among the seamen, more than one half of their number having died during the winter, and Mr. Jones, the master, was unwilling to commence his return voyage until the survivors had recovered their health. He sailed on the 5th of April, and arrived in England on the 6th of May. Not one of the settlers expressed a desire to return to their native country, but all remained true to the pledge to their brethren whom they left in Leyden, and made every possible exertion to prepare comfortable accommodations for their reception.

The first offence committed and punished since the arrival of the colonists, was by John Billington, who shipped on board the Mayflower at London, and was not of the company. He was charged with contempt of the captain's lawful commands, and of opprobrious speeches. He was tried by the whole company, and sentenced to have his neck and heels tied together; but, on humbling himself and craving pardon, and it being his first offence, he was released from his painful situation before the time had expired. In the spring of this year, the colonists planted 20 acres with Indian corn, being the first planted in New England, of which they had a good crop. They were instructed in the manner of planting by Squanto, but were unsuccessful in their first trial with English grain, by reason, as is supposed, of the lateness of the season, and bad quality of the seed.

On the fifth of April this year, Governor Carver was taken sick in the field while engaged in planting, and died in a few days. His death was extremely afflictive, and he was universally lamented. He was one of their wisest counsellors, and most indefatigable laborers. His remains were consigned to the earth, with all the affectionate solemnity which circumstances, at the time, would permit, and with the discharge of all their fire-arms. Many able pens have been employed in portraying his character. According to Dr. Belknap, 'he was a man of great prudence, integrity, and firmness of mind. He had a good estate in England, which he spent in the migration to Holland and America. He was one of the foremost in action, and bore a large share of suffering in the service of the colony, who confided in him as its friend and father. Piety, humility, and benevolence were eminent traits in his character,

and it is particularly remembered, that in the time of general sickness, which befel the colony, and with which he was affected, after he had himself recovered, he was assiduous in attending the sick and performing the most humiliating services for them, without any distinction of persons or characters.'—His affectionate wife, overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, survived but six weeks after his death. He sustained the office of governor four months and twenty-four days only. His posterity have been very numerous. 'One of his grandsons lived to the age of one hundred and two years, and about the middle of the last century, (1775) that descendant, with his son, grandson, and great grandson, were all at the same time at work in the same field, whilst an infant of the fifth generation was within the house at Marshfield.'—*Belknap's Amer. Biog.* At the death of governor Carver, the whole number of deaths was as follows :

December, 6 ; January, 8 ; February, 17 ; March, 13. Of this number were 21 of the subscribers to the civil compact, and in April governor Carver was added to that number. The whole number of survivors at this time was 55. Mr. William Bradford, while yet a convalescent from dangerous sickness, was chosen governor of Plymouth, as successor to governor Carver, and Mr. Isaac Allerton was chosen his assistant.

On the eighteenth of June, two culprits were arraigned before the company for trial. These were, Edward Dotey and Edward Leister, servants of Stephen Hopkins, who had fought a duel with sword and dagger, in which both were wounded. They were sentenced to have their head and feet tied together, and to remain in that situation for twenty-four hours, without food or drink. Even this slight punishment for an offence so criminal was remitted by the governor, after one hour's endurance, in consequence of their pleadings and promises, and the earnest desire of their master.

A Journey to Pokanoket; forty miles. This place was otherwise called Sowams. It was deemed advisable to send a friendly deputation to Massasoit, in order to ascertain the exact place of his residence, and his strength and disposition, and to cultivate and perpetuate a league of peace and amity between the two parties, and to procure corn for seed. For this purpose, the governor made choice of Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins, to be accompanied by Squanto, as guide and interpreter. The deputies commenced their journey on the second or third day of July, taking a horseman's coat of red cotton, laced with slight lace as a present to the chief, and reached Namasket, a part of Middleborough, fifteen miles dis-

tant, in the afternoon. The native inhabitants received them with joy, and entertained them in their best manner, giving them a kind of bread, and the roes of shad boiled with musty acorns. The natives complained greatly of the damage they sustained in their corn by the ravages of the crows, and desired to see the experiment of shooting them with English guns; about four-score of these birds were soon brought down, to the great amusement of the natives. The gentlemen proceeded on their journey eight miles further, and at sun-set, reached a fishing wear at Titicut, on Taunton river, where abundance of bass was caught. The natives received them in a friendly manner, and supplied them with fish, but destitute of houses, they took lodgings in the open field. An interchange of friendly civilities took place. The land on this river appeared rich and fertile, but the native inhabitants had a few years before been swept off by pestilence. Massasoit had his residence on this river. The next day they resumed their march, accompanied by six volunteer savages, and, having travelled six miles by the river side, they come to a fording place at low water. Here they were struck with the valor and courage of two savages on the opposite side of the river, two only remaining alive at that place, both aged—one above three score. Seeing a company of men entering the river, they ran to meet them at the bank, where, with shrill voices and manly courage, they charged with their bows, and demanded if they were enemies, and prepared to take advantage while in the water. But finding them friends they welcomed them with such food as they had, and the English bestowed on them a small bracelet of beads. The six savages proved useful companions to the ambassadors during their tedious march, affording them much assistance in crossing rivers, and offering to carry their clothes and guns to relieve them from fatigue and heat. The country through which they passed abounded in good timber, consisting of oak, walnut, fir, beech and chesnut, of immense size; also fine springs of water, but was without inhabitants. Having arrived at a village in Massasoit's territory, they were treated with a meal of fish and oysters, whence they proceeded to Pokanoket; but the chief was absent. One of the English attempted to charge his gun. The women and children fled, and could not be pacified, till he laid it aside, and the interpreter assured them of their safety. But on the arrival of Massasoit, they saluted him by a full discharge of muskets, and he received them with every mark of favor and respect; and having clothed him with the laced red coat, and put the chain about his neck, he was delighted with the figure he made, and his people viewed their king with

pride and wonder. In reply to their message, the chief assured them that it was his desire to continue in peace and friendship, and that he would direct his people to that effect, and would send seed-corn to Patuxet, as desired. He then addressed his own people as follows:—‘Am not I Massasoit, commander of the country around you? Is not such a town mine, and the people of it? Will you not bring your skins to the English?’ After this manner he named at least thirty places, to every one of which they gave an answer of assent and applause. At the close of his speech, he lighted tobacco for the envoys, and proceeded to discourse about England and the English king, wondering that he would live without a wife. He talked also of the Frenchmen, bidding the English not to suffer them to come to Narraganset, for it was king James’s country, and he was king James’s man. Night approaching, and Massasoit having provided no food, as he had been absent from home, the gentlemen desired to retire to rest. The lodging place was on a platform of plank raised a foot from the ground; and their companions were Massasoit and wife and two other Indians, and they were more weary of their lodging than of their journey. The next day many of the petty sachems and a large party of the people assembled to amuse themselves and the strangers with their games for skins and knives, and one of the English fired at a mark, and they were much surprised to see so many shot holes. At noon, Massasoit brought home two fishes, which he had caught, and these formed the repast for forty people, and the only meal afforded to the messengers for two nights and a day; yet he importuned them to tarry longer. But feeling the want of food, and anxious to keep the ensuing sabbath at home, and moreover despairing of sleep, as the filthy lodgings, the noise of the savages singing themselves to sleep, the annoyance of the pestiferous insects within doors, and mosquitoes without, left no chance for repose; and thinking that should they protract their visit, they might not be able to return for want of strength, on Friday morning, before the sun’s rising, they took leave and departed, leaving the chief both grieved and ashamed that he could entertain them no better. Squanto was retained to collect articles for traffic and Tockamahamon appointed to guide them to Plymouth, where they arrived after two days’ journey.

John Billington, a boy, having been lost in the woods, and inquiry being made, Massasoit sent word that he was at Nauset. He had wandered about five days, subsisting on berries. The governor sent ten men in a shallop, with Squanto and Tockamahamon, to recover him. In July, the party sailed to-

wards Nauset, but were overtaken by a violent storm, attended with lightning and thunder; they took shelter that night in the bay, near the harbor of Commaquid. (Barnstable harbor.)—The next morning, some savages, in pursuit of lobsters, informed them that the boy was well, but was at Nauset. They invited the English on shore to eat with them; four savages entered the boat as hostages, while six went on shore from the boat. The English were introduced to their sachem, or governor, named Iyanough, a man not exceeding 25 years of age, of comely appearance and courteous, who afforded them a plentiful entertainment. Here they were accosted by an old woman, supposed to be not less than a hundred years old, who had never seen an Englishman; she was weeping with great lamentation, complaining that she had three sons who went on board Captain Hunt's ship to trade with him, and were carried captives into Spain, by which means she was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age. The English told her they were sorry, that Hunt was a bad man, and all the English condemned him, and that no such injury should be offered by themselves; and, having given her a few trifles, she was somewhat pacified. After dinner, they proceeded, accompanied by the sachem, Iyanough, and two of his men, to Nauset, and Squanto was sent to Aspinet, the sachem of Nauset, to inform him of their arrival. After sunset, Aspinet came with the boy, and a great train, consisting of not less than one hundred, one half of whom went to the shallop unarmed, carrying the boy in their arms through the water, while the rest remained at a distance, with their bows and arrows. The boy was now delivered, decorated to excess with beads; and, having agreed to a peace, and presented the sachem and the man who brought the boy with knives, the parties separated. On their return, Iyanough landed at Commaquid, and, to show his kindness, took a runlet and led the seamen in the dark some distance for water. In the mean time, most of his people, men, women, and children, assembled; the women joined hand in hand, singing and dancing, and the scene was closed by Iyanough taking a bracelet from his neck and hanging it on one of the English. It was reported by the Nausets, that the Narragansets had captured Massasoit, and killed some of his people, and about the same time, Hobomak, a Pinese, or chief captain under Massasoit, a lusty young man, attached himself to the English, and devoted his life to their interest and service. On the other hand it was understood that Corbitant, another sachem, had given indications of his attachment to the Narragansets, a powerful tribe, and was endeavoring to disaffect the

subjects of Massasoit towards the colonists, and manifested his enmity to all that favored his interest.* Squanto and Hobomak, anxious to ascertain the situation of their chief, Massasoit, undertook a journey privately for that purpose. They were discovered by Corbitant the first night, and threatened with death. He seized Squanto, and held a knife at his breast, but Hobomak effected his escape to Plymouth, with news that Squanto was killed. The governor, sensible of the justice and importance of protecting the friendly natives, and of showing his own authority, after consulting the whole company, resolved to despatch a party of armed men, with orders to attack their enemies in the night, and in case that Squanto had been killed, to put Corbitant to death, and bring his head to Plymouth. On the 14th of August, Captain Standish, at the head of ten of the English, and accompanied by the friendly Hobomak, commenced the expedition, and reached Corbitant's cabin in the night; three Indians, attempting to escape, were badly wounded, but it appeared that Squanto had suffered no injury. The next morning, Standish breakfasted at Squanto's, and finding that Corbitant and his friends had escaped, and having accomplished the object of his expedition, commenced his return home.

The consequence of this display of authority on the part of the English was extremely favorable; the natives in that quarter were greatly intimidated, and numerous sachems, nearly all in the vicinity, solicited the friendship of the colonists. It appeared, on inquiry, that the report of the capture of Massasoit was a mistake, and Corbitant solicited his good offices to reconcile him to the English; and he, together with several other chiefs, repaired to Plymouth, to acknowledge themselves the loyal subjects of King James, and subscribed the following paper :

September 13th, 1621.

'Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, acknowledge ourselves to be the loyal subjects of King James, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland,

* Corbitant resided at Mattapuyest, a neck of land in the township of Swansey. Mr. Winslow, who had frequent conferences with him at his wigwam and at other places, represents him as a 'hollow-hearted friend to the English, a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him.'

defender of the faith, &c. In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names, or marks, as followeth.' Subscribed by nine sachems. The colonists had now secured the entire friendship and good services of the great sachem, Massasoit, and, partly by his influence, brought most of the petty sachems to terms of submission and peace. One event had previously occurred, which the natives had in remembrance, and which served to restrain their evil propensities. A French ship had been wrecked on Cape Cod, and most of the crew sacrificed. One Frenchman only was permitted to live among the natives. He told them that God was angry with them for this wickedness, and would destroy them, and give their country to another people. That they should not live like beasts, as they did, but should be clothed, &c.—But they, in derision, replied, that they were so many that God could not kill them. He answered 'that though they were never so many, God had many ways to destroy them that they knew not.' The pestilence which depopulated their country, took place soon after the death of the Frenchman, and the arrival of the English soon followed. The prediction being fulfilled, produced a salutary influence on the natives.

A tribe called the Massachusetts, had manifested indications of hostility against the English. The governor and company, therefore, desirous to ascertain their strength, particular situation, and circumstances, resolved to send a party to explore the bay on which they resided, and propose to them terms of peace, trade and friendship. Accordingly, on the eighteenth of September, the shallop was despatched with ten Englishmen, Squanto for their interpreter, and two other Indians.—They arrived in the harbor of Shawmut, (Boston,) the next day, anchored under a cliff, which Dr. Belknap supposes to be Copps's Hill, at the bottom of the bay, and twenty leagues from Plymouth. Here they had an interview with the sachem, Obbatinua, one of the parties to the submission signed a few days before at Plymouth. He renewed his submission, receiving a promise of defence against his enemies, particularly against the sachem of Massachusetts. They were treated by the natives with hospitality and respect, after their fears had subsided, and having collected a quantity of beaver, on the 20th in the evening, having the benefit of a light moon, set sail, and arrived at Plymouth before noon the next day. The shallop's crew made such a favorable report respecting the country which they had just visited, as to excite the envy of the colonists, who regretted that it had not fallen to their lot to be seated there, although health was now restored to their

dwellings, they were gathering in their harvest, provisions were plenty, water fowl and fish abounded, deer and wild turkeys were in the forest, they had opened a successful traffic with the natives, and their houses were in good condition for the approaching winter.

On the ninth of November, the *Fortune*, a vessel of fifty-five tons burthen, arrived at Cape Cod, bringing Mr. Robert Cushman, and thirty-five more passengers, whose names follow : *

Robert Cushman,	James Stewart, (Stewart,)
William Hilton,	William Pitts, •
John Winslow,	William Palmer, probably two
William Coner,	in his family,
John Adams,	Jonathan Brewster,
William Tench,	Bennet Morgan,
John Cannon,	Thomas Flavil, and his son,
William Wright,	Hugh Stacie, (Stacy,)
Robert Hickes,	William Beale,
Thomas Prence, (Prince) after-	Thomas Cushman,
wards Governor,	Austin Nicolas, (Nicholas,)
Stephen Dean,	Widow Foord, probably four, in
Moses Simonson, (Simmons,)	her family,
Philip De La Noye, (Delano,)	Thomas Morton,
Edward Bompasse, (Bumpus,	William Bassite, (Bassett,) two
and Bump,)	probably in his family.
Clement Briggs, (Briggs,)	

It was unfortunate that this ship was so long on the voyage, as she had expended nearly all her provisions. She was soon laden with a cargo, valued at £500, consisting of furs, clapboards, and sassafras, and being provisioned by the planters, (though greatly to their damage) she was despatched on her return voyage, on the 13th of December; but near the English coast she was captured and carried into France, but afterwards released. Mr. Cushman returned in the ship, as the adventurers had directed, to give them information respecting the plantation.

Soon after the departure of the *Fortune*, the new comers were distributed amongst the several families, and, on taking an estimate of their provisions, it was found necessary to put the whole company on half allowance, to which they cheerfully submitted. At this critical juncture, the Narragansets,

* Four more of the first company in the *Mayflower* had died since March, leaving but fifty-one survivors.

learning that the ship brought neither arms nor provisions, began to manifest hostile intentions. Their threats and preparations were well known to the English. At length they sent messengers to the plantation, with a bundle of arrows tied together with a snake skin. This the English received as a war challenge, and governor Bradford informed the chief sachem, Cannonicus, that if they loved war they might begin it, as he was not unprepared. By an Indian, the governor, after consulting the settlers, sent back the snake's skin stuffed with gunpowder and bullets, with a verbal message of defiance. This produced the desired effect. The sachem was intimidated, dared not touch the snake's skin, nor let it remain in his house, but returned it to the English unopened. The settlers now judged it prudent to enclose their houses by a strong impalement, which was completed in February. They also, for further security, enclosed part of the hill, and formed bulwarks with gates to be locked at night, and watch and ward was kept during the day. The enclosed ground afforded a garden for each family. The whole company was divided into four squadrons, and each one had its particular posts assigned it, in case of alarm. One of the companies was directed to attend particularly to any fires that might happen, while others were to serve as guards with their muskets. In all these military arrangements for the security of the town, Captain Standish was their main dependence, and he proved himself well deserving their confidence.

1622. About the beginning of April, another expedition on a trading voyage to the Massachusetts was in preparation, when Hobomak intimated his fears that the Narragansetts and the Massachusetts had formed a private league against the English for their destruction, and, by sending off a part of their force, the town would be exposed to great danger from the Narragansetts, while those on the expedition would be destroyed by the Massachusetts. These apprehensions, however, did not prevent the expedition. Captain Standish, with ten principal men, taking both Squanto and Hobomak, proceeded on the voyage. Having reached the mouth of the harbor near the Gurnet's nose, they were becalmed, and came to anchor. While there, an Indian of Squanto's family came running into town with his face covered with blood, calling to the people abroad to make haste home, saying he received the wound in his face for speaking for the English, and frequently looking back as if the assailants were fast behind him. He informed the Governor that there were many Narragansetts, together with Massasoit and Corbitant and others, approaching to as-

sault the town, in the absence of Captain Standish. Upon this information, the governor ordered three pieces of cannon to be fired. Standish and his crew, taking the alarm, immediately returned, and prepared for action. Hobomak was positive that it was all fiction, as it proved. He was a Pinese, he said, and such an enterprise would not be undertaken by Massasoit without consulting him. At the request of the Governor, he sent his wife to Massasoit's residence, pretending other business, to inform herself of the true state of things. She found all quiet, and that no mischief had been intended. She then informed Massasoit of what had occurred at Plymouth, who was much offended with Squanto for his conduct. After this affair, Standish prosecuted his voyage to the Massachusetts, made a good trade, and returned in safety. It was now seen by the English that Squanto was not to be relied on, that he was actuated by selfish views, endeavoring to make his countrymen believe that he had great influence with the English, as he understood their language; in consequence of which he deluded many, and gained some advantages to himself. He made the natives believe, that the English were their enemies, that they kept the plague buried in the ground, and could spread it through the country at pleasure, which created great terror among the Indians, and induced them to place much dependence on him, to secure for them the friendship of the English. Some barrels of gunpowder were buried under ground in the store-house, and when taken out, Hobomak inquired of Squanto what they were? He replied, that they contained the plague, which he had formerly mentioned. Hobomak inquired of an Englishman if this was true; he answered, no! but the God of the English possessed it, and could use it for the destruction of his enemies, and the enemies of the English. Such were the devices, and such the duplicity of Squanto, to increase his influence among his brethren; and it was perceived that he had succeeded but too well in obtaining for himself the respect due to Massasoit only. The planters spared no pains to counteract these proceedings, by assuring the natives that Squanto was a deceiver, and that they had no reason to fear the English, so long as they conducted peaceably towards them. Massasoit, at length, became so embittered against Squanto, that, on a visit at Plymouth, he demanded of governor Bradford, that he should be put to death; but this was refused, and after his return home, he sent messengers to repeat the demand, asserting his claim to Squanto as his subject, according to the terms of the existing treaty. The demand was repeated with such pressing importunity, that the governor admitted that he de-

served death, and was about to deliver him up, though with great reluctance, as Squanto was the only one who understood both languages, by which the necessary intercourse could be kept up. Massasoit offered many beaver skins in exchange for Squanto, but the governor disdained to sell his life, but assured the messengers that Squanto had justly forfeited it by his falsehood and deceit. With the messengers, Massasoit sent his own knife for the avowed purpose of cutting off Squanto's head and hands, and the culprit readily yielded himself and submitted his life, without the least apparent reluctance to the will of the governor. At the moment when he was about to be delivered into the hands of the messengers, a shallop appeared in the offing; the governor having heard many rumors of the French, and, doubtful whether there were not combinations between them and the savages, refused to deliver Squanto up, until he should first have ascertained what boat was approaching. Thus Squanto escaped, for the messengers, vexed at the delay, immediately departed in great rage. The boat in question proved to be a shallop belonging to a fishing vessel, the property of Thomas Weston, a merchant in London, which, with about thirty others, was employed in the fishing business, on the eastern shore near Penobscot. This was in the month of May, when the whole colony was entirely destitute of bread, and their other provisions were almost expended. It was out of season for sea-fowl, and they were unprovided with seines and hooks for fishing. They had subsisted on clams and other shell fish, until they were greatly debilitated. • The shallop, above mentioned, brought six or seven passengers from the fishing vessels from London to be added to the planters, but no supply of provisions. Governor Bradford despatched Edward Winslow, to purchase articles of provision of the fishermen, but none could be obtained, excepting from the generosity of one Captain, who supplied them gratuitously with bread, sufficient to give each person in the plantation a quarter of a pound daily until the harvest. 'This was the daily portion,' says Mr. Winslow, 'which was distributed: until now, we were never without some bread, the want whereof much abated the strength and flesh of some, and swelled others—and, indeed, had we not been in a place where divers sorts of shell fish are, that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished, unless God had raised some unknown or extraordinary means for our preservation.'

In addition to this calamity, the Indians threatened them, and boasted how easily they could effect their destruction, and Massasoit, even manifested a coolness and indifference about

his English friends. In the mean time, news arrived of a horrible massacre of the English in Virginia on the 27th of March, 1622. Three hundred and forty-seven of the English were slain by the Indians. 'The massacre was conducted with indiscriminate barbarity. No regard was shown to dignity, no gratitude for benefits.' Justly alarmed for their safety, they immediately began to build a strong and handsome fort, taking in the top of the hill under which our town is seated, with a flat roof and battlement, on which cannons were mounted, and a watch kept. The lower part was used as a place of public worship. Thus did these pious people offer their devout aspirations to God with the sword in one hand and the bible in the other. 'About the end of March,' says Mr. Winslow, 'our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before on a bare and short allowance.' As to the insufficient stock of provisions brought by the *Fortune*, he suggests as an apology for their friends in England, 'certain among ourselves were too prodigal in writing and reporting that we enjoyed a plenty.'

The colony now in June and July, consisted of about one hundred persons in tolerable health; who had, this season, planted sixty acres of corn, and whose gardens afforded ample supplies of vegetables.

Thomas Weston, a merchant in London, was originally one of the merchant adventurers. He encouraged the emigration, and actively promoted the Plymouth settlement, until this year. Why he now withdrew his patronage, could not be known, but by a letter from him, addressed to governor Carver, 'we find,' says governor Bradford, 'he has quite deserted us, and is going to settle a plantation of his own. And having procured for himself a patent of a tract of land in Massachusetts Bay, he sent two ships, the *Charity* and the *Swan*, with fifty or sixty men, at his own charge, to settle a plantation. These adventurers arrived at Plymouth about June or July, many of them in a sickly condition; and most of them remained there the greater part of the summer, and received from the inhabitants every hospitality and kindness which the place could afford. But they were ungrateful enough to commit numerous thefts, and waste the provisions of the planters who furnished them. At length they located themselves on Weston's land, at a place called *Wessagusset*, in the Massachusetts Bay, (now *Weymouth*). This was a rival settlement, and consisted of profligate miscreants altogether unfit for such an enterprise, and proved very troublesome neighbors.

In the month of August, another ship arrived from England, called the *Discovery*, commanded by Captain Jones, the former

commander of the Mayflower; and also the Sparrow, belonging to Mr. Weston, which had been employed on a fishing voyage. Captain Jones brought a large supply of trinkets, suitable for traffic with the natives, but his enormous demand for the articles, and unwillingness to sell but in large quantities, showed his disposition to take an ungenerous advantage of the famishing planters, and compel them to purchase at exorbitant prices that they might traffic with the natives for corn.

Weston's undeserving company soon squandered away their provisions, and were reduced to a state of starvation; thieving among the natives was their next resort. They were continually exasperating the savages against both settlements, till at length they became contemptible in the eyes of the natives themselves. One of them was so greatly enfeebled for want of food, that, in attempting to dig clams, his feet got caught in the mud and, before he could be extricated, perished. They would debase themselves by the most abject services for the natives, who, in return, would rob them of their miserable food and blankets while asleep. Pressing and clamorous complaints were made by the Indians to the governor, and some were stocked and some whipped, without amendment; at length, to appease the injured savages, it was thought necessary to hang one of those who had been convicted of stealing. 'A waggish report became current that the real offender was spared, and that a poor decrepid old man, that was unserviceable to the company, was hung in his stead. 'Upon this story,' says Mr. Hubbard, in his MS. History of New England, 'the merry gentleman that wrote the poem called Hudibras did, in his poetical fancy, make so much sport.' The passage referred to is well known.

'Our brethren of New England use
Choice malefactors to excuse,
And hang the guiltless in their stead,
Of whom the churches have less need.'

Hudibras, part ii. canto 2.

Mr. Hubbard seriously contradicts the story, but with a qualification, that would not, perhaps, have deprived the poet of an allusion so convenient for his purpose, and so congenial to his feelings. As Mr. Hubbard had the account from the Plymouth people, the person hanged was really guilty of stealing, as were many of the rest; yet it is possible, that justice might be executed, not on him that most deserved it, but on him that could best be spared, or who was not likely to live long, if he had been let alone.—*New England Memorial.*

1623. Partly to benefit Weston's starving people, and partly to provide for his own families, governor Bradford agreed to accompany them in the *Swan*, their own ship, on an expedition to Cape Cod, to procure corn from the natives. He afterwards went a second time, in company with Captain Standish in another shallop, after the Captain had recovered from sickness. These voyages were attended with the greatest hazard, by reason of violent storms; but they returned in safety, and brought a good supply of corn, which they divided equally between the two plantations. At Nauset the shallop was stranded in a storm; part of the corn and beans, of which they had 26 or 28 hogsheads, was stacked and covered with mats and left in charge of the Indians. The governor procuring a guide, travelled home on foot, receiving much respect from the natives by the way, and was weary with galled feet and disappointment. In this first voyage the governor took Squanto as an interpreter and pilot, but unfortunately he was seized with a mortal fever at Cape Cod, of which he soon died. This loss was severely felt, as his place could not be supplied.

Although on a former occasion his conduct was somewhat exceptionable, yet, as interpreter and pilot, the English always found him faithful and ready to devote himself to their service. 'A short time previous to his death, he requested governor Bradford to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven; and he bequeathed his little property to his English friends, as remembrances of his love.'

January. Captain Standish made frequent successful excursions during the winter, to traffic for corn and furs. While his shallop lay in a creek at Nauset, an Indian stole from him some beads, scissors, and other trifles. Standish complained to the sachem, and threatened him and his people with punishment, unless they were restored. The next day, the sachem with a number of his men appeared to make satisfaction. First, by way of salutation, he thrust out his tongue to its full length, and drew it across the Captain's wrist and hand to his finger ends. Next, he attempted to bow the knee in imitation of the English, having been instructed by Squanto. All his men followed his example, but in so awkward a manner, that the English could scarce refrain from breaking out in open laughter. After this ceremony, he delivered back the stolen goods, assuring the captain that he had punished the thief. He then directed the women to make some bread for the company, and expressed his sorrow for the theft, and was glad to be reconciled.

February. Captain Standish, being on a visit to Mattachiest

(Barnstable) to purchase corn, the people freely supplied him, pretending to regard him with great friendship and respect. Several strangers also appeared, wishing only to see him and his company, but Standish saw reason to suspect that they were planning to kill him. He, therefore, ordered that part of his company should remain awake, and watch all night. It was not long before some beads were stolen. Standish, having but six men with him, ordered that all should leave the boat, and surround the house which contained the sachem and his people. He now assured them that as he would not offer the least injury to one of them, so he would receive none from any person, and demanded the stolen articles. The sachem, having directed the thief to go slyly and put them into the boat, desired the Captain to search for them there; he, suspecting their knavery, sent a man who found the articles lying in plain sight on the boat's cuddy. These people now supplied him with corn enough to load his shallop. These spirited measures produced an admirable effect upon these faithless people, and kept them in constant fear.

March. On a visit to Manomet,* Captain Standish was apprehensive that the natives were plotting his destruction. Being some distance from his boat, with only two or three men, and the same number at the boat, he entered the house of Canancum, the sachem; soon after which, two of the Massachusetts Indians entered. The chief one, called Wattawamat, was a notable, insulting villain, who had formerly imbrued his hands in the blood of English and French, and had often boasted of his own valor, and derided the weakness of the English, especially, as he said, because they died crying, making sour faces, more like children than men. This fellow took a dagger from his neck, and presented it to the sachem, accompanied by a long speech, which the Captain could not understand, but which was of the following purport. The Massachusetts had concluded to destroy Weston's company, but dare not attempt it, till they could gather strength enough to destroy the Plymouth people also, as they would never leave the death of their countrymen unrevenged, and they could not

* Manomet is the name of a creek, or river, which runs through the town of Sandwich into the upper part of Buzzard's Bay, formerly called Manomet Bay. Between this and Scusset Creek, is the place, which, for more than a century, has been thought of, as proper to be cut through, to form a communication by a navigable canal from Barnstable Bay to Buzzard's Bay. It is only six miles across.

be safe unless both plantations were overthrown. To this end, they formerly had solicited this sachem, and also Iyanough at Mattachiest, and many others, to assist them; and now, since there was so fair an opportunity by the Captain's presence, it was best they should make sure of him and his company. The savages endeavored to persuade Standish to send for the remainder of the boat's crew, but he refused. At the same time there was a lusty Indian of Paomet (Truro) present, who had professed friendship for the English, especially for Standish. This savage was in confederacy with the rest, but was very artful in keeping up appearances, offering many presents, saying he was rich, and could afford to bestow such favors on his friends whom he loved. He also offered to carry some of his corn to the shallop, a kind of labor which he said he had never performed for any man in his life before. And that he might have a better opportunity to kill the Captain, he importuned him to lodge at his hut, but the weather was so excessively cold that he was unable to sleep, and kept about the fire. The Indian frequently inquired why he did not sleep as usual, and urged him to it, but he replied that he had no desire to rest. The next day, the Indian embarked with Standish, and urged him to accompany him to Paomet, promising to supply him with corn, which the Captain complied with, not in the least suspecting an evil design; but the boat was forced back by a contrary wind, and returned to Plymouth. Thus the savage in two attempts was providentially frustrated in his diabolical intentions.

March. Visit to Massasoit. Information being received that Massasoit was dangerously sick, and that a Dutch ship was stranded near his house, the governor sent Edward Winslow and John Hampden, with Hobomak, to visit him and minister to his comfort, as this act is not only commendable in itself, but is conformable to the prevailing custom among the natives in case of sickness. Mr. Hampden was a gentleman from London, says Winslow, who was spending the winter at Plymouth, and was desirous of seeing the country. Dr. Belknap supposes this to be the same person who distinguished himself by his opposition to the illegal and arbitrary demands of King Charles I.* [*Biog.* vol. ii. p. 229.] Winslow was

* 'When wandering about the woods of Pakanok, or along the banks of Taunton river, or sleeping in Indian huts, little did Hampden dream of the fate which awaited him. Little did he think that it was reserved for him to commence the overthrow of the British monarchy, and to shed his blood in the first daring attempt for a

acquainted with the Dutch language, and it was desirable to have a conference with them; he was, moreover, a warm friend of Massasoit, and he provided for the occasion some comfortable cordials, &c. The first night they lodged with their Indian friends at Namasket; the next day, about one o'clock, they came to a ferry in Corbitant's country, (Slade's ferry in Swansey) where they met with many Indians, who informed them that Massasoit was dead, and was that day to be buried, and that the Dutch ship would be off before they could arrive. This was unwelcome news, and Hobomak wished to return immediately to Plymouth. But Winslow, conceiving that Corbitant would probably succeed Massasoit, and that the distance was only three miles to his dwelling-place, (Mattapoiset), prevailed on Hampden and Hobomak to proceed, although the visit might be attended with danger, as Corbitant was considered to be unfriendly. Hobomak immediately began to manifest his great grief, exclaiming often on the way, 'Neen womasu sagimus, neen womasu sagimus, &c. My loving sachem, my loving sachem, many have I known, but never any like thee.' And turning to Mr. Winslow, he said, 'Whilst I live I shall never see his like amongst the Indians; he was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians. In anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; ruled by reason, not scorning the advice of mean men; governing his men better with few strokes than others did with many, truly loving where he loved, and he feared that the English had not a faithful friend left among the Indians,' &c. In this strain of lamentation and sorrow he continued, till they arrived at Corbitant's house; but he being gone to visit Massasoit, the squaw sachem gave them a kind entertainment, and informed them that the

free constitution in England.'—*Baylies*, vol. i. p. 110.

We are not aware that such a visit by Hampden is mentioned by any British writer. We have never met with 'the memorial of John Hampden, by Lord Nugent,' but, from the notice of this work in the *Edinburgh Review*, we infer there was no knowledge of the fact of such a visit. At this period, (1620) he had not risen to distinction, but he was the father of a family, and a member of Parliament, and a total silence as to such a voyage, especially in epistolary correspondence, is a little difficult to be accounted for. It is a known fact, however, that Hampden had a partiality for the puritans, and was a warm friend to the New England Colonies, and it is certain also, that, at a subsequent period, he, with his relative, Oliver Cromwell, was actually on ship board, bound to New England, and was stopped by order of the royal government.

death of Massasoit was not certainly known, but supposed. Winslow hired an Indian to go with all expedition to Pokanoket and ascertain the fact, and inform Corbitant that they were at his house. News was soon brought that the king was not dead, though there was no hope that they would find him living. On their arrival, they found that the Dutch ship had sailed, and that Massasoit still breathed. His hut was filled and surrounded with people. The pawaws were in the diligent exercise of their incantations and charms for him, making a 'hellish noise,' terrifying both sick and well, and six or eight women were chafing his limbs. Massasoit was apparently expiring, his sight had wholly left him, but being told that his English friends had come to see him, he inquired who had come, and on being told Winslow, he desired to speak to him; on his approach he put forth his hand and said twice, though very feebly, *keen Winsnow ? Art thou Winslow ? Yes.* Then he doubled these words, *matre neen wonekanet naimen Winsnow.* 'O Winslow, I shall never see you again.' Winslow then desired Hobomak to tell him, that the governor was grieved to learn that he was sick, and being unable to come himself, had sent him with some comfortable things for his relief, and gave him some conserve on the point of a knife. With much difficulty he got this through his teeth, and Massasoit swallowed a little, which he had not done for the last two days. Winslow next endeavored to cleanse his mouth, which was excessively loaded with filth, and his tongue so much swollen as to impede his swallowing. He continued his kind attention to his patient, repeating his applications till all appearances were favorable, and he, within an hour, obtained some sleep.

Mr. Winslow now proposed to send a messenger to Plymouth for a further supply of such articles as he required; with which the chief was delighted, and soon despatched a messenger. In the mean time, Winslow made him some broth of corn meal, boiled with sassafras root and strawberry leaves, which he relished. He requested Winslow the next day to take his piece and kill him some fowl and make him some broth. The sachem derived great benefit from the kindness of Mr. Winslow, of which he and all his people were truly sensible, and for which they expressed their sincere gratitude. He exclaimed, now I see the English are my friends, and love me, and whilst I live I will never forget this kindness they have shown me. He earnestly desired that Winslow would visit the sick people in the town, and wash their mouths also, and give to each of them some of the same good things which he had given him. Winslow and Hampden, on taking their departure, received

ings of the king and his people. When about to de-
 assassoit privately informed Hobomak, that there was an
 ve combination of Indians for the destruction of Wes-
 olony; that the Massachusetts had drawn a great num-
 sachems into the confederacy; and that during his sick-
 had been earnestly solicited to join them, but had re-
 and forbidden his people to be influenced by them. He
 that the Massachusetts should be immediately attacked
 off, as the only way to avert the threatened danger.
 English regard their own safety, let them strike the
 w, for after the settlers at Wessagusset should be killed, it
 be too late for the Plymouth people to withstand so many
 s. Corbitant earnestly desired that Winslow and
 len would lodge one night with him at Mattapoiset, on
 ay to Plymouth. They complied with this request, and
 uch entertained with his merry humor and jocose con-
 on. He asked whether if he were sick and should send
 Plymouth, the governor would send him physic, and
 r Mr. Winslow would visit him; and being answered in
 rmative, he returned his thanks. He inquired of Wins-
 ow he and Hampden dared to come, being but two men,
 nto the country? Winslow replied, that his heart was
 ght towards them that he had no fear in coming amongst
 But, said Corbitant, if your heart be so pure, and pro-
 such fruits, why, when we come to Plymouth, are the
 of your pieces presented towards us? This, said Wins-
 an honor which it is our custom to bestow on our best
 . But, shaking his head, he answered, that he liked not
 alutations. He next inquired into the reason of asking
 and returning thanks, before and after eating. Wins-
 answered that all the good things of this life, came from
 and it is proper that we should crave his blessing and
 s our thankfulness on all such occasions; to which he
 ed. The gentlemen left Corbitant's dwelling much
 ed with their entertainment.

ch 23d.—This being their annual court day, the gover-
 d before the whole company the evidence which he had
 ed of the hostile combination of the several tribes of In-
 against the settlement at Wessagusset. It was resolved,
 aptain Standish should take with him as many men as he
 deem necessary to encounter all the Indians in Massa-
 ts bay—that he should disclose his designs to Weston's
 ; and secure Wattawamat, a bold and bloody warrior,
 ing home his head.

tain Standish would take but eight men for this service,

besides Hobomak, lest he should excite suspicion. On his arrival, his designs were suspected. An Indian said he saw by his eyes that he was angry in his heart, and, therefore, believed that their plot was discovered. Pecksuot, a bold-spirited Indian, and a Pinese, that is, counsellor and warrior, said to Hobomak, that he understood that the Captain had come to kill him and the rest of the tribe. Tell him, said he, we know it, but fear him not; let him begin when he dares; he will not take us unawares. Many of them would often whet and sharpen their knives, and use insulting speeches and gestures before his face. They were in the habit of wearing knives suspended at the breast, in sheaths tied about the neck. Wattawamat bragged of the excellency of his knife, having on the handle a woman's face; but he said he had another at home, with which he had killed both French and English, having a man's face on it, and these two must marry, and by and by it shall see and it shall eat, but not speak. Pecksuot, being a large man, said, that though Standish was a great Captain, he was but a little man; but he himself, though no sachem, was yet a man of great strength and courage. Standish, though high-spirited and irritable, submitted patiently to these abusive provocations, till a favorable opportunity should occur. The next day the valiant Captain found means to get Pecksuot, Wattawamat, and a third Indian, with Wattawamat's brother, eighteen years old, an insulting villain, into a room, and having about an equal number of his own men he made the door fast and gave the signal, beginning himself with Pecksuot; he snatched his own knife from his neck, a struggle for life ensued, the knife was two-edged and the savage had sharpened it to a needle's point. This was instantly plunged into his bosom, and repeated strokes were given, the victim resisting to the last breath. Wattawamat and the other Indians were also slain at the same time, and the young man was taken, and afterwards hanged. The struggle was awful, but without noise. Hobomak was a calm spectator of the appalling scene; after it was closed, he said to the Captain, yesterday Pecksuot, bragging of his own strength and stature, said, though you were a great Captain yet you were but a little man: but to-day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground. Two more Indians were slain by Weston's men. Proceeding to another place, Standish killed an Indian; and afterwards met a file of savages, which he encountered; and, after a skirmish, compelled them to fly into a swamp; he challenged the sachem to a single combat, but he refused.

Weston's people, now seeing their danger, resolved to quit

their plantation, and requested the assistance of Captain Standish in conveying them to the fishing vessels at Monhiggon, hoping to find a passage to England. The Captain told them that he should not feel himself in danger to reside there with fewer men than their number; but, at their desire, he would furnish them with corn sufficient for their subsistence, till they could arrive at the fishing vessels, although it would almost exhaust their own store, and stint them for seed corn. Seeing them under sail in their vessel, and clear of Massachusetts Bay, he returned to Plymouth in his own shallop, bringing with him a few men that preferred a residence in Plymouth. Thus, within one year, was the settlement of Wessagusset broken up, and the worthless rabble dispersed.

Captain Standish, on his return, brought with him the head of Watawamat, as directed, and it was placed on the fort as a terror to the Indians. There was at this time an Indian chained to the floor in the fort, having been detected in the conspiracy; he recognised the head, and was exceedingly terrified; he acknowledged the existence of the plot, but not his own guilt. He entreated earnestly for his life, which was granted, and he returned with a message of caution to his brethren. 'The Indians generally, who had been prepared to join the Massachusetts, were terrified by these acts of severe execution. They forsook their dwellings, wandered about bewildered, living in swamps and deserts, and contracted diseases, of which many died. Cananum, sachem of Manomet, Aspinet of Nauset, and the interesting Iyanough, were among the victims of these complicated miseries. When Rev. Mr. Robinson received the news of these transactions, he wrote to the church at Plymouth, 'to consider the disposition of their Captain, who was of a warm temper.' He hoped the Lord had sent him among them for good, if they used him right; but he doubted whether there was not wanting that tenderness of the life of man, made after God's image, which was meet; he thought 'it would have been happy if they had converted some, before they had killed any.' These sentiments are honorable to Mr. Robinson. They indicate a generous philanthropy, which must always gain our affection, and should ever be cherished. Still the transactions, to which the strictures relate, are defensible. As to Standish, Dr. Belknap places his defence on the rules of duty imposed by his character, as the military servant of the colony: The government, it is presumed, will be considered as acting under severe necessity, and will require no apology, if the reality of the conspiracy be admitted, of which there can be little doubt. It is certain, that they were fully per-

suaded of its existence, and, with the terrible example of the Virginia massacre in fresh remembrance, had solemn duties to discharge. The existence of the whole settlement was at hazard.*

First Patent. The first patent of Plymouth had been taken out in the name of John Pierce, in trust for the company of adventurers; but when he saw the promising state of their settlement, and the favor which their success had obtained for them with the counsel for New England, he, without their knowledge, but in their name, procured another patent of larger extent, intending to keep it for his own benefit, and hold the adventurers as his tenants, to sue and be sued at his courts. In pursuance of this design, in the autumn of the last year he despatched the ship *Paragon*, of which William Pierce was master, for New-England, but in 14 days she was forced back by severe storms, having got no farther than the Downs. The *Paragon* was repaired at the expense of one hundred pounds, and again despatched, but in this attempt the mariners, about the middle of February, were obliged in a terrible storm to cut away their mainmast, and return to Portsmouth. Pierce was then on board with 109 souls. After these successive losses and disappointments, he was induced to assign to the company of adventurers for £500, the patent which had cost him but £50. A new ship called the *Ann*, which had been built by the company to be sent to this country, was now employed to transport the passengers and goods, and she arrived at Plymouth in July, of which William Pierce, having quit the *Paragon*, was master. The *Ann* and the *Little James* of 44 tons, which soon followed her track, brought supplies for the plantation which were much needed, and about sixty passengers. The goods, with the charge of passengers in the ship, cost the company £640. The *Paragon* arrived at Plymouth in the month of June, under the command of Francis West, who was commissioned to be Admiral of New-England, with power to restrain such ships as came either to fish or trade on the coast without license from the New-England council; but finding the fishermen too stubborn and strong for him, he sailed for Virginia. The owners of the fishing vessels complained to the Parliament of this attempted restraint, and procured an order that fishing should be free.

The Colonists were essentially benefitted by a vast abundance of bass, caught in the creeks; on some occasions, 1500 were taken at one tide: when these resources failed they resorted to

* Judge Davis's edit. *New-England Memorial*, p. 91.

the never-failing clam banks. It was their misfortune, in the early part of the summer, to be reduced to the severest sufferings, threatening a famine, by a scantiness of provisions. A vessel with supplies, which they expected in the spring, was twice obliged to put back by stress of weather, and did not arrive till August. In May, they planted an unusual quantity of Indian corn, but it was so ordered, that a drought of six weeks continuance cut off all their favorable prospects. Until the middle of July, the earth was as ashes, the produce scorched as before a fire, and the hopes of man were overthrown. In this extremity, as in all adverse circumstances, these pious sufferers invoked the God of heaven for relief. A day of humiliation and prayer was appointed; the morning was fair and the sky cloudless; their fervent religious worship was continued eight or nine hours without ceasing. At night the clouds were seen to gather, and the sky was overcast; the next morning they were cheered with moderate refreshing showers, and the rains continued to descend at intervals for fourteen days. The natives were struck with amazement. Hobomak, during the continuance of the drought, expressed his grief and concern lest the English should lose all their corn, and starve. The Indians, said he, can live on fish. But after the rain he rejoiced and said, 'Now I see Englishman's God is a good God, for he hears you and sends rain, and without storms and tempests which break down our corn; surely he is a good God.' At a convenient season they also solemnized a day of public thanksgiving for rain, and for a supply of provisions from England. 'By the time our corn is planted,' said Bradford, 'our victuals are spent, not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning, and have neither bread nor corn for three or four months together; yet bear our wants with cheerfulness, and rest on Providence.' The devout elder Brewster lived for many months together without bread, and chiefly on fish and clams, yet with this scanty fare, he, with his family, would give thanks that they could 'suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sand.' In winter, much use was made of ground nuts instead of bread, and wild fowls were constantly to be obtained in the marshes and creeks, and not unfrequently a deer was brought from the forest, which were divided among the whole company. It has been stated that they were at one time reduced to a single pint of corn, which being equally divided gave to each person five kernels, which were parched and eaten. The first establishment of the planters embraced such circumstances, as to maintain a community of interest, as respects the cultivation of the land, and

the product was necessarily thrown into the common stock.—By the articles of agreement with the merchant adventurers in England, the personal services of the planters, and of their wives and children, were estimated at a stipulated rate, and to make common stock with property advanced, either by them or their adventurers. But this year it was judged advisable to change the system and create an individual interest, by allowing every family the product of its labor to its own particular use. Each family to have a certain parcel of land in proportion to its numbers, on the condition only of a certain portion of the corn set apart at the harvest for those who were engaged in public business and for the fishermen. This arrangement operated as a stimulus to individual industry, and a larger quantity of corn was planted this year than before. Among the passengers who arrived in the two ships, the *Ann* and the *Little James*, in July and August, were Timothy Hatherly, George Morton, and John Jenney, with the wives and children of some who had arrived before. By these, letters were received from their agent, Mr. Cushman, and from the adventurers. Mr. Cushman writes 'Some few of your old friends are come; they come dropping to you, and by degrees; I hope ere long you shall enjoy them all.' The adventurers write, 'Let it not be grievous to you, that you have been instruments to break the ice for others, who come after with less difficulty; the honor shall be yours to the world's end. We bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is towards you all, as are the hearts of hundreds more, which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray for your safety as their own.'

These new comers were extremely affected with the miserable condition of those who had been almost three years in the country. An interview with old friends under such suffering circumstances was truly appalling. 'The best dish we could present them with,' says governor Bradford, 'is a lobster or piece of fish, without bread, or any thing else but a cup of fair spring water; and the long continuance of this diet, with our labors abroad, has somewhat abated the freshness of our complexions; but God gives us health.'

First Jury.—It appears from the following ordinance, that this little band of exiles duly appreciated the privilege of trial by jury:

'It is ordained, this 17th day of December, A..D. 1623, by this court, then held, that all criminal facts, and also all matters of trespass and debts between man and man, shall be tried by the verdict of twelve honest men, to be impannelled ay authority, in form of a jury upon their oaths.'—*Colony Records*.

Under August 14th of this year, Mr. Prince places the fourth marriage in the settlement, governor Bradford to Mrs. Alice Southworth. This is taken, it is said, from the governor's register. A more particular account will be given under the year 1657.

On the 10th of September, the *Ann* sailed for London, on company account, laden with clapboards, and all the beaver and other furs which had been collected at Plymouth. Mr. Edward Winslow went passenger in the *Ann*, 'to inform how things are,' says governor Bradford, 'and procure what we want.'

1624.—The colonists had hitherto appointed but one assistant to the governor; but the present year, by the request of Mr. Bradford, four others were added, and to the governor was given a double vote. Governor Bradford on this occasion strongly recommended a rotation in the office, alleging that if it were any honor or benefit, others beside himself should partake of it; if it were a burden, others should help to bear it. But he was, notwithstanding, re-elected, and repeatedly afterwards.

On the request of the people to the governor that they might have some land for permanent use, instead of the accustomed assignment by annual lot, he gave every person an acre for himself and his family, as near to the town as was convenient.*

Edward Winslow, having been sent to England the last year, as an agent for the colony, on his return home brought three heifers and a bull, which were the first neat cattle brought to Plymouth. The settlers were destitute of milk the first four years. Mr. Winslow was absent but six months, and brought with him provisions and clothing.

When we consider the sequestered situation of our puritan fathers, and their privations and sufferings, it is scarcely credible that a spirit of enmity should subsist against them on the other side of the Atlantic. But such was the fact; a division among the adventurers took place, a party of them were dissatisfied with the affairs of the colonists; groundless calumnies were urged against them; and it was determined, if possible, to prevent Rev. Mr. Robinson and the remainder of his church from coming over, alleging that their narrow scheme of reli-

* The particular location of these lots to each individual family respectively, may be found in Judge Davis's edition of the Memorial and also in Hon. Mr. Baylies' Historical Memoir, vol. i. page 257.

gious polity was unfriendly to a trading establishment. With Mr. Winslow, one John Lyford, a preacher, but a man of loose morals, was sent over by some of the adventurers. This man, on his first arrival, saluted the planters apparently with great reverence and humility, bowing and cringing in a very unbecoming manner, and even wept when blessing 'God that had brought him to see their faces.' The governor treated him with all respect, and admitted him into his councils with Elder Brewster, and others. He soon desired to be received into fellowship with their church, making a confession of his faith, and a humble acknowledgment of his former sinful courses, and blessed God for the opportunity of disburdening his conscience, &c. It was not long before he was observed in close intimacy with one John Oldham, a man of turbulent and restless spirit, and the mischievous effects of this association soon became manifest. They diffused a factious spirit among the more vicious part of the populace, who could be brought in opposition to the colonists, and in aid of their enemies in England. Lyford was observed to be much engaged in writing letters to go by the return ship to England, and was not very careful to conceal a knowledge of their contents from those whom they most concerned. It was even boasted openly, among the confidants of Lyford and Oldham, that their letters would effect a change of affairs at Plymouth. The governor, apprehensive that these letters would be productive of evil consequences, should they reach their destination in England, thought himself bound to intercept them. He went on board the vessel in the harbor, and, on representing to Capt. William Pierce, the commander, his suspicions, it was agreed that the letters should be unsealed, as the welfare of the colony was doubtless deeply involved in the issue. A scene of perfidy was now disclosed, making it evident that they were scheming a total subversion of the civil authority, and of the church government, that the affairs of the colony might devolve on themselves. Their letters were filled with base invective, and false accusations against both church and state in the new colony. The governor deemed it proper to take copies of these letters; but of some of the most palpably obnoxious, he retained the originals, and replaced them with copies. The breaking the seals of private letters may always be justified, when for the purpose of detecting a treasonable correspondence, which may affect the ruin of a community. Amongst the Lyford letters was one to John Pemberton, a minister well known to be inimical to the colony, and in this letter were enclosed copies of a letter from a gentleman in England to Mr.

Brewster, and of another from Mr. Winslow to Rev. Mr. Robinson. These two copies were taken from the original sealed letters by Lyford, when on board the ship while laying at Gravesend bound to America.

Governor Bradford remained silent respecting the information which he had obtained, but kept a strict watch over the conduct of the culprits, that their adherents and their designs might be more clearly discovered. Oldham soon became obstreperous, refusing to comply with his military duty, when, according to rule, called on to watch. He even insulted the captain and attacked him with a knife, and ranted furiously against all who attempted to quiet him. He was imprisoned, and a slight punishment being inflicted, he made confession and was released. Soon after this, Lyford, with his accomplices, proceeded to extremity, in defiance of the ruling authority, and without consulting the governor, church, or elder, set up a public meeting apart on the Lord's day, and attempted to administer the sacrament. In this crisis of affairs, the governor summoned a court of the whole company, and preferred his charges against Lyford and Oldham. With audacious face they denied the charges, and required proof. On this extraordinary occasion, governor Bradford expatiated on the principal objects and views of their migration here, the toils and sufferings to which they had been subjected, that they might enjoy the ordinances of God in freedom and quietness. In adverting to the case of Lyford, he reminded him that he had not participated in those sufferings, nor in the expense, but was sent over, and, with his large family, received kindly and supported at much expense; and now to plot against them and seek their ruin, was most unjust and perfidious. Lyford still denied the charge, and pretended not to understand the language addressed to him. The governor could no longer withhold the overwhelming truth. The letters from his own hand were now produced, and where is the man with sufficient effrontery not to be utterly confounded? Oldham began to be furious, and to rage bitterly that their letters had been intercepted. He endeavored to excite a mutiny among the people, exhorting them to show their courage, that now was the time to side with him in open rebellion, and he would stand by them. But he gained not a man; all were confounded and even the seditiously disposed were quelled through fear. The governor now proceeded to reprove Lyford for his base hypocrisy and treachery; in abusing his friends, in breaking the seals of private letters and taking copies; and at this time he caused Lyford's letters to be read to the whole company. He was

next reminded of his confession when admitted to church-fellowship, and his saying at that time that he did not hold himself a minister till he could have a new calling for that purpose, and, yet, now he had drawn a party aside, and, without acquainting the governor or the church, was about to administer the sacrament, by virtue of his former calling. He only replied, that many persons had complained to him of abuses, but the persons he named denied his assertions. At length the miscreant, with eyes streaming with tears, confessed 'that he feared he was a reprobate, and that his sins were so great that God would not pardon them; he was "unsavory salt," and that he had so wronged them that he could never make them amends;' confessing 'all he had written against them was false and naught, both for motive and manner.'

Both of these men were convicted, and the court sentenced them to be expelled from the plantation. Oldham was to depart immediately, though his wife and family had liberty to tarry all winter, or till he could remove them comfortably. Lyford had liberty to tarry six months, and the governor intended to remit his punishment, if his repentance proved sincere. He acknowledged that his sentence was just, far less than he deserved, and afterwards confessed his sin before the church with tears in abundance. He acknowledged that he had slanderously abused the people, expecting that a majority would side with him, and that he should gain his point; and he now blessed God that his designs were frustrated. He confessed himself to be actuated by pride, vain glory and self-love; that his eyes and his ears were shut against all good; and that if God should make him a vagabond on the earth, as was Cain, it would be just. Such was the apparent sincerity of these professions of sorrow and repentance, that many 'tender hearted persons' had pity and compassion on him, and he was again permitted to teach, and some were willing to fall on their knees to have his sentence remitted.

Can it be credited, that in less than three months after his conviction, and before the term of his probation had expired, notwithstanding all his tearful confessions before God and the church, he should be found guilty of a new offence? He actually wrote another slanderous letter to his abettors in England, but the person to whom it was entrusted delivered it to the governor. John Oldham departed from Plymouth to Nantasket, and Lyford accepted of an invitation to be the minister of Cape Ann. At the annual election in March, 1625, Oldham returned to Plymouth, in violation of his sentence the last year, which prohibited his return without the consent of

the Governor. He behaved again in such a factious and abusive manner, that his own associates were ashamed to be seen in his company, and it became necessary to confine him, till some punishment could be prepared for him. He was made to run the gauntlet through a double file of armed men, and each man was ordered to give him a blow as he passed, with the butt end of his musket, saying at the same time, '*go and mend your manners*;' he was then conducted to his boat, which lay at the water's side for his departure.

Oldham afterwards applied himself to trade at Nantasket, with commendable industry and good success. He undertook a voyage to Virginia, and, while in imminent danger of shipwreck, his mind was deeply impressed with a sense of his evil course of life, and he made many confessions and promises of amendment, if God should spare his life, and these vows he verified by a more correct course, insomuch, that the people of Plymouth permitted him to come into the place, whenever it might be convenient. Some time after, while on a trading voyage at Block Island, having some contention with the Indians, he fell a sacrifice to their barbarity. As to Lyford, Mr. Winslow, while in England, made such disclosures of his conduct when in Ireland, as could not fail to confound his best friends and adherents; and among the adventurers he was finally condemned, as unfit for the ministry. After suffering many disappointments and troubles, he went to Nantasket, then to Salem, and afterwards to Virginia, where he sickened and died. The affair of Lyford and Oldham is narrated by Secretary Morton, in language of great severity if not prejudice, and some suggestions of caution in its perusal are found in other authors.

Captain Smith's statistical account of Plymouth, at this period is thus condensed in Prince's Chronology. 'At New Plymouth, there are now about 180 persons, some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry; thirty-two dwelling houses; the town is impaled about half a mile in compass. On a high mount in the town they have a fort well built of wood, lime and stone, and a fair watch-house; the place it seems is healthful, for in the three last years, notwithstanding their great want of most necessaries, hath not one died of the first planters: and this year they have freighted a ship of 180 tons. The general stock already employed by the adventurers to Plymouth, is about seven hundred pounds.'

In the same ship which brought Mr. Lyford to Plymouth, came a carpenter and a salt maker, both sent by the adventurers. 'The carpenter,' says governor Bradford, 'is an honest

and very industrious man, quickly builds us two very good and strong shallops, with a great and strong lighter, and had hewn timber for two ketches; but this was spoilt; for in the heat of the season of the year, he falls into a fever and dies, to our grief, loss and sorrow.' The salt *maker* he describes as one ignorant, foolish, and self-willed, and who produced nothing. On the 5th of August, Mr. Thomas Prince, who was afterwards governor, was married to Miss Patience Brewster, being the ninth marriage which had been solemnized in the colony.

1625.—Great dissensions having prevailed among the merchant adventurers in London, and being under considerable pecuniary embarrassments, the company this year, 1625, dissolved, and the major part of its members relinquished all interest in the affairs of the company, and left the colonists to provide for themselves. The colonists were, this year, so successful in their crops of Indian corn, that they were overstocked, and, wishing to convert part of it to some profit in trade, and having no other vessels than two shallops, they laid a deck on one of them, and sent her, laden with corn, to Kennebeck. Although the shallop was provided with a deck amid-ship to keep the corn dry, yet the men were exposed to the weather without shelter. Having no seamen for the service, Mr. Winslow and some of the 'old standards,' performed this voyage, in a tempestuous season, on the approach of winter. They disposed of the corn to advantage, and returned with seven hundred pounds of beaver, besides other furs, and at the same time opened a profitable trade for future occasions.

The merchant adventurers at London sent two ships on a trading voyage to New-England; on their return they were laden with dry fish and furs; the smaller ship was towed by the larger till they reached the English channel, when, being cast off, she was captured by a Turkish man of war and carried into Saltee, where the master and his men were made slaves. In the larger ship, Capt. Miles Standish went over as agent in behalf of the plantation, in reference to some affairs depending between them and the adventurers. He providentially escaped the fate of those in the other vessel.

1626.—In April of this year, Capt. Miles Standish returned from England. He was the bearer of tidings which occasioned universal grief and sorrow. It was the death of the Rev. John Robinson, the beloved pastor of the Leyden and Plymouth church. Mr. Robinson died at Leyden, March 1st, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age. A greater loss could not have been sustained in their circumstances. A particular detail of the character of this great and good man will be found *under the head of Ecclesiastical History*, in this volume. After

his death his son, Isaac, with his mother, came over to America, and settled at Barnstable. Mr. Prince observes, he was a "venerable man whom I have often seen." He lived to the age of ninety and left male posterity in the county of Barnstable. The Rev. John Robinson who was many years after minister of Duxbury, was born in Dorchester from another family, and graduated at Harvard college in 1695. Another instance of death very afflictive to the colonists, was announced by captain Standish. It was Mr. Robert Cushman, one of their most valued friends. Mr. Cushman had resided in England since his return from Plymouth in 1621. He was a man of estimable character, and rendered essential service to the colonists. When at Plymouth in 1621, although a layman, he preached a sermon 'on the sin and danger of self-love.' This was the first sermon ever preached in New England: according to tradition, the spot where it was delivered was the common house of the plantation, on the southerly side of Leyden street. It was printed in London in 1622, and afterwards reprinted in Boston, in 1724. Another edition was published at Plymouth in 1785, with an appendix, giving some account of the author. In 1822, this celebrated sermon was again published at Stockbridge, with the appendix.

In governor Bradford's letter-book, a fragment of which is preserved, is a letter from four of the adventurers written eighteenth December, 1624, said by Governor Bradford to be in Mr. Cushman's hand-writing. It gives much insight into their affairs, especially relative to their connexion with the adventurers, and evidences the good sense and excellent spirit of the writer. He wrote about the same time to Governor Bradford. In the same letter-book, is a copy of Governor Bradford's reply, dated June 9th, 1625, probably sent by Capt. Standish. In his letters to Governor Bradford, Mr. Cushman expresses a hope of coming to them in one of the next ships. His son Thomas, at that time a youth, whom he brought with him in the *Fortune*, in 1621, was then in the family of governor Bradford. 'I must entreat you,' says he in his last letter, 'to have a care of my son as your own, and I shall rest bound unto you.' The request, we can have no doubt, was sacredly regarded. This son became a useful member of the society in which he was nurtured from childhood. He was chosen ruling elder of the church in 1649, after the death of Elder Brewster. He married Mary, a daughter of Mr. Allerton, and died 1691, aged eighty-four. A tombstone was erected to his memory in 1715, by the church and congregation at Plymouth. He left several children. One of them, *Isaac*, was the first minister of Plymouth. His widow survived till 1699. She is the person

mentioned by Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 408, as the only one of the first comers surviving in 1698. Descendants from this respectable stock are numerous, especially in Plympton, Duxbury and Middleborough.—*Memorial*. In the will of Elder Thomas Cushman, dated October 22d, 1690, he mentions his sons Thomas, Isaac, Elkanah and Eleazer. Also his wife Mary, and his daughters Sarah Hook, and Lydia Harlow.—His sons Thomas, Isaac and Elkanah, settled in Plympton and died there, and probably Eleazer also.

1627.—For greater convenience of trade, the Plymouth colonists this summer built a small pinnacle at Manomet, a place twenty miles to the south of Plymouth, (Buzzard's Bay,) to which place they transported their goods. Having taken them up a creek within four or five miles, they carried them over land to the vessel, and thus avoided the dangerous navigation around Cape Cod, and made their voyage to the southward in far less time, and with much less hazard. For the safety of their vessel and goods, they also built a house, and kept some servants there, who planted corn, raised hogs, and were always ready to go out with the bark, and this became an establishment of some importance. In the time of the late war with Great Britain, the editor of the *Memorial* says, he had an opportunity to witness at Sandwich a revival of this mode of conveyance, to which the inhabitants of Cape Cod found it convenient to resort for the purpose of avoiding the risk of capture by the enemy's cruisers on the coast.

At this period the colonists received numerous letters from their affectionate friends and brethren at Leyden. They were sorrowing under the irreparable loss of their beloved pastor, and pining with little hope for a re-union with their christian brethren at Plymouth. They were poor and dejected, and the society was hastening to a dissolution. The event of a re-union was equally desirable on the part of their friends at Plymouth. Governor Bradford and his associates were determined to make every possible effort to effect the object; no pecuniary sacrifices were deemed too great. Mr. Allerton had been sent several times, as agent to London, to negotiate a settlement of all pecuniary concerns with the company of adventurers, and to solicit assistance in behalf of the Leyden church. He returned in the spring of this year, after a successful execution of his commission, and was so fortunate as to purchase all the interest of the company of adventurers for the planters at Plymouth.

This year it was deemed expedient to distribute portions of land to each person, allotting to each twenty acres of arable land, five acres in breadth by the water side and four acres in length, in addition to the acre of homestead and garden plot,

formerly allotted. There was also a division of the cattle and goats. In the edition of the Memorial, by Judge Davis, page 389, will be found a particular allotment of cows and goats to individual families, and by that list the state of several families may be determined. The division of cows and goats took place soon after the connexion of the Plymouth settlers with the company of merchant adventurers in England was dissolved.— In 1624, Mr. James Shirley, merchant of London, and one of the adventurers, a warm friend to the pilgrims, gave a heifer to the plantation to begin a stock for the poor. In 1638, the townsmen of New Plymouth met at the governor's, all the inhabitants from Jones's river to Eel river, respecting the disposition of the stock of cows given by Mr. Shirley. The amount of the stock was very considerable, and a respectable committee was appointed to dispose of the same. In one of his letters, this benevolent gentleman says, 'If you put off any bull calves, or when they grow to bigger stature, I pray let that money's worth purchase hose and shoes for the poor of Plymouth, or such necessities as they may want; and this I pray make known to all.' 'All this gentleman's letters,' observes the editor of the Memorial, 'exhibit the most estimable disposition. When Plymouth shall distinguish its streets and public places with the name of ancient worthies, that of Shirley should not be forgotten.'

In March of this year, messengers arrived at Plymouth from the governor of the Dutch plantation at Hudson's river, with letters dated at Manhattas, Fort Amsterdam, March 9th, 1627, and written in Dutch and French. In these letters, the Dutch congratulated the English on their prosperous and commendable enterprise, tendered their good will and friendly services, and offered to open and maintain with them a commercial intercourse. The governor and council of Plymouth sent an obliging answer to the Dutch, expressing a thankful sense of the kindness which they had received in their native country, and a grateful acceptance of the offered friendship. The letters were signed by Isaac De Razier, Secretary.

In September, of the same year, the Plymouth planters received a visit from De Razier. Having arrived at the Plymouth trading-house at Manomet, according to his request, governor Bradford sent a boat for him, and he arrived at Plymouth, in the Dutch style, with a noise of trumpeters. He was a chief merchant, and second to the governor.

The people of Plymouth entertained him and his company several days, and some of them accompanied him on his return to Manomet, and purchased of him some commodities, especially

wampum peack or *wampum*. The Plymouth settlers were unacquainted with wampum, as an article of commerce, but, from the information received from the Dutch, they were induced to purchase the article of the Indians, to the value of £50, for traffic; it was unsaleable the two first years; but afterwards became a very important article of trade, especially with the inland Indians, who did not make it. 'Wompompague,' says Mr. Gookin, 'is made, artificially, of a part of the *wilk's* shell; the black is double the value of the white. It is made principally by the Narraganset and Long Island Indians. Upon the sandy flats and shores of those coasts, the wilk shells are found.' In Roger Williams's key, wampum is considered as the Indian money, and is described in the 24th chapter of that interesting tract. 'One fathom of this, their stringed money, is worth five shillings. Their white money they call *wampum*, which signifies *white*; their black, *suckawhock*, *suki* signifying *black*.' The editor of the Memorial says he received from the late professor Peck, a reply to some inquiries on this subject. He was satisfied that wampum was made from the shell of the *paquawhock*, or *quahog*. A traveller in this country in the year 1760, describing his journey from Newark to New York, by the way of Saten Island, has the following remark: 'In my way, I had an opportunity of seeing the method of making wampum. It is made of the clam shell; a shell consisting within of two colors, purple and white, and in form not unlike a thick oyster shell. The process of manufacturing it is very simple. It is just clipped to a proper size, which is that of a small oblong parallel piped, then *drilled*, and afterwards ground to a round smooth surface, and polished. The purple wampum is much more valuable than the white; a very small part of the shell being of that color.'

1623.—The Plymouth company had, for some time, been endeavoring to obtain a patent of a tract of land on the Kennebec river, as a place of trade. This year their object was accomplished, and they erected a house high up the river, and furnished it with corn and other commodities, for a market.—This year died Mr. Richard Warren, one of the passengers in the *Mayflower*, and a man of great usefulness during the sufferings and difficulties of the first settlement. Elizabeth Warren, the widow of Richard Warren, survived her husband about 45 years. She died in 1675, aged 90. Honorable mention is made of her in the Plymouth records. They had seven children, two sons and five daughters, all of whom married in Plymouth, excepting Abigail, the youngest daughter, who married Antony Snow, of Marshfield. Richard Warren stands at

the head of the ninth share in the division of cattle in 1627. His location of lands was near Eel river, and the farm has remained in possession of his descendants till within about seven years. The late Honorable James Warren, of Plymouth, was a descendant from Richard Warren.

This year commenced the troubles occasioned by the eccentric Thomas Morton, of famous 'Merry Mount' and 'May Pole' memory; but as this 'Lord of Misrule' was not an inhabitant of Plymouth, and as his affairs were transacted chiefly at Mount Wallaston, (Braintree,) the reader is referred to the New-England Memorial for particulars.

In 1628 or 1629, some Plymouth people, putting into Nantasket, met with a Mr. Ralph Smith, in a very miserable condition, but finding him to be a sober-minded man, and having officiated as a minister, they, by his earnest desire, brought him to Plymouth, where he was settled as their first minister.—See *Ecclesiastical History*.

1629.—This year, Dr. Fuller, one of the first emigrants, a skilful physician as well as pious man, was called to visit some sick people at Salem, as a malignant disease prevailed there among a company of English emigrants under the care of Mr. (afterwards governor) John Endicott. Governor Bradford, and some others from the church of Plymouth, went to Salem, to assist in the ordination of Mr. Skelton, pastor, and Mr. Higginson, teacher, or ruling elder, by giving the right hand of fellowship. In August of this year, thirty-five families of the Leyden church arrived at Plymouth. They were received with great joy, and the expenses of their transportation were paid gratuitously by the undertakers, and they were supported from the public stores for more than a year. Mr. Allerton, who made a third voyage to England in the autumn of 1628, as agent for Plymouth, returned some time in this month. He assisted very much the families of the Leyden church in their removal to this place.*

* Mr. Isaac Allerton was chosen the first and only assistant to Governor Bradford in 1621, and continued to be elected to that office, until 1624 when the number was increased. He was sent five times to England, as agent for the colony. In 1629, he employed the notorious Thomas Morton, as his secretary, which gave so great offence, that he was obliged to dismiss him. Mr. Allerton accompanied Gov. Bradford and Dr. Fuller to Salem in July 1629, to assist in the ordination of Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson. In point of property he ranked the first, paying taxes to the amount of £3, 11s, when Mr. Edw. Winslow next to him in wealth paid £2, 5s. His character, may be inferred from the following passage quoted from

1630.—Another portion of the Leyden people, about sixty in number, arrived on the 8th of May. Their transportation, amounting to £550, was paid by the undertakers. 'The generosity of the chiefs of the colony to their Leyden brethren,' says Mr. Baylies, 'is unparalleled. They almost deprived themselves of the common necessities of life to get them over, and to support them, until they were able to support themselves!'

Execution. John Billington, indicted for murder, was found guilty, and executed in October. This was the first execution in Plymouth colony. Governor Bradford says, 'He was one of the profanest amongst us. He was from London, and I know not by what friends shuffled into our company. We used all due means about his trial; he was found guilty, both by grand and petit jury; and we took the advice of Mr. Winthrop, and others, the ablest gentlemen in the Massachusetts Bay, who all concurred with us that he ought to die, and the land be purged from blood.' He was guilty of the first offence in the colony in 1621, when he suffered an ignominious punishment. Governor Bradford, writing to Mr. Cushman in 1625, says, 'Billington still rails against you, and threatens to arrest you, I know not wherefore; he is a knave, and so will live and die.' Billington waylaid and shot one John Newcomen, in revenge for some affront. It was Francis, who, in 1621, discovered the lake that has the name of Billington sea. In October of this year, the ship called the Handmaid arrived at Plymouth, having been twelve weeks at sea, and lost all her masts. About sixty passengers arrived, all well; but of twenty-eight cows shipped, ten were lost.

'Whereas our ancient work of fortification, by continuance of time is decayed, and christian wisdom teacheth us to depend upon God in the use of all good means for our safety, it is agreed by court, that fortifications be made in March or April, and the governor and council measure the work, and appoint

the old colony Records, p. 43. "1633 decb'r 2d. Whereas Mr. Will. Bradford was appointed in the behalfe of the Court to enter upon the estate of Godbert Godbertson and Zarah his wife, and to discharge the debts of the said Godbert so far as his estate will make good. And whereas the greatest part of his debts are owing to Mr. Isaack Allerton of Plymouth merchant late brother of the said Zarah, the said Isaack hath given free leave to all other his creditors to be fully discharged before he receive any thing of his particular debts to himself, desiring rather to lose all than other men should lose any." He married Fear Brewster, daughter of the Elder, for his second wife. His son Isaac was graduated at Cambridge in 1560. The posterity of Mr. Allerton are numerous in the U. S.

the whole of their joint and separate part of labor, and, in case any shall fail to do their part, they to forfeit ten shillings a day for each default, and to pay his or their part of labor, as the overseers shall agree.'

1632.—In the autumn of this year governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, Rev. Mr. Wilson, and some other gentlemen from Boston, visited Plymouth. In Winthrop's journal the party is thus described: 'The governor, with Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, and two captains,' &c. The two captains, it may be presumed, were Endicott and Underhill. 'They went on board Captain Pierce's ship, (October 28th) which had just before arrived from England, and were put on shore at a place called Massagascus. The next morning, the governor and his company went on foot to Plymouth, and arrived within the evening. The governor of Plymouth, Bradford, with Mr. Brewster the elder, and some others, came forth and met them without the town and conducted them to the governor's house, where they were kindly entertained, and feasted every day at several houses. On the Lord's day was a sacrament, which they did partake in, and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams, (according to their custom) propounded a question, to which their pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly. Rev. Mr. Williams prophesied,* and after, the governor of Plymouth spake to the question; after him, the elder, then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of the contribution, upon which the governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat and put into the bag, and then returned.'

October 31st.—'Wednesday, about five in the morning, the governor and his company came out of Plymouth, the governor of Plymouth, with the pastor and elder, &c. accompanying them nearly half a mile out of town in the dark. The lieutenant, Holmes, with two others, and the governor's man, came along with them to the great swamp, about ten miles. When they came to the great river, they were carried over by one Ludham, their guide, (as they had been when they came) the

* The term *prophesying*, in the sense intended by Governor Winthrop in his account of the religious exercises at Plymouth, has become obsolete. It originated in the reign of Elizabeth, when the puritans maintained frequent religious exercises, in which texts of scripture were interpreted or discussed, one speaking to the subject after another, in an orderly method.

stream being very strong and up to the hips; so the governor called that passage Ludham's Ford. Then they came to a place called Hue's Cross: the governor being displeased at the name, in respect that such things might hereafter give the papists occasion to say that their religion was first planted in these parts, changed the name, and called it Hue's Folly; so they came that evening to Massagascus, where they were bountifully entertained as before, with store of turkeys, geese, ducks, &c., and the next day to Boston.'

The great swamp mentioned in this narrative was in Pembroke; the great river is supposed to be what is now called *North River*. Ludham's Ford was probably in Hanover, about fourteen miles from Plymouth. Massagascus was probably written Wessagascus, and indicates the place which was commonly called Wessagassett.

1633. *First Water Mill*.—January, Stephen Dean covenanted to set up a water-mill, that should be sufficient to beat corn for the whole colony. His mill was erected near Billington sea, where he had a house. This mill, as supposed, was merely a pounding mill, by which the corn was cleared from the hull and prepared for Samp, (Nausamp) and Succatash a pleasant and wholesome substitute for bread, for a knowledge of which our ancestors were indebted to the Indians. The next year it was agreed that Dean's privilege should be surrendered whenever a grinding mill should be set up. Such a mill was soon afterwards erected by John Jenney, for the records inform us that, in 1638, John Jenney was presented for not grinding corn well and seasonably.

A law was made in the colony this year, inflicting a penalty of twenty pounds on any person who should refuse to accept of the office of governor, unless he was chosen two years in succession, and whoever should refuse the office of counsellor or magistrate, was required to pay ten pounds.

This year, Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, Mr. William Bradford, Captain Miles Standish, Mr. John Howland, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Doan, Mr. Stephen Hopkins, and Mr. William Gilson were chosen to be his assistants in government. Governor Bradford, having served in the office of governor about twelve years, now, by importunity, got off.

At a general court held 28th October, it was by full consent agreed upon, that the chief government be held in the town of Plymouth, and that the governor live there, and keep his residence and dwelling, and there also hold such courts as concern the people.

It is a current tradition, that the house, in which the general court held their sessions for many years, occupied the identical spot on which now stands the dwelling house of Mr. Thomas Jackson, in Main street, and that some of the original timber was incorporated into the present house. The walls of the chamber were high, in which sat the governor and assistants, and the lower room was occupied by the house of deputies.

All and every person in the colony were to be subject to such military orders for training and exercise of arms, as was agreed upon by the governor and assistants.

The town of Plymouth was this year visited with a mortal sickness, of which upwards of twenty men, women, and children died. Among others, was that most excellent and pious man, Dr. Samuel Fuller. He had attached himself to the puritan interest, while at Leyden, and came over as a member of Robinson's church, in the Mayflower. He twice visited Salem in the discharge of his professional duties, and, being experienced in the church affairs at Plymouth, communicated some useful information to governor Endicott, relative to the formation of a church at Salem, for which he received his grateful acknowledgments. He was an ardent friend to the church, of which he was deacon, and was distinguished for his moral and christian virtues. 'The spring before this sickness,' says Morton, (Memorial) 'there was a numerous company of flies, which were like for bigness unto wasps and humble-bees; they came out of little holes in the ground, and did eat up the green things, and made such a constant yelling noise as made the woods ring of them, and to deafen the hearers. They were not heard nor seen by the English in the country before this time, but the Indians told them that sickness would follow; and so it did. Very hot in the months of June, July, and August, of that summer.' The insect here described, is the locust, which has appeared in our woods at distant intervals since.

In the inventory of Dr. Fuller, three cows were appraised, January 2d, 1633, at sixty pounds sterling.

1634.—This year, Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Bradford, first assistant, or deputy governor, and six other gentlemen were chosen assistants.

Indian Anecdote. Governor Winthrop mentions in his journal, that 'Mr. Winslow, coming in his bark from Connecticut, left his bark at Narraganset, to return to Plymouth by land. Asamequin, (Massasoit) his old ally, offered to be his guide; but before they took their journey, the Sagamore sent one of his men to Plymouth, to tell them that Mr. Winslow was dead. and directed him to show where he was killed; whereupon

there was much fear and sorrow at Plymouth. The next day, when Asamequin brought him home, they asked him why he sent such word, he answered that it was their manner to do so, that they might be more welcome when they came home.'

1635.—William Bradford chosen Governor, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prince, and five others assistants.

Mr. E. Winslow again visited England, as agent for the colony, and was joint agent for Massachusetts also. While before the council, on the affairs of the colonies, archbishop Laud, being greatly incensed against him, as against all the colonists, as separatists from the church of England, accused him of officiating in the celebration of marriages, and as religious teacher. Mr. Winslow acknowledged that he had occasionally taught publicly in the church and that he had officiated in the celebration of marriages as a magistrate, and that he himself had been married by a magistrate. The archbishop pronounced him guilty of separation from the national church, and 'by vehement importunity,' says governor Bradford, 'got the board at last to consent to his commitment. He was conveyed to the Fleet prison, and was there confined about seventeen weeks.'—*See Ecclesiastical History.*

On the 15th of August, Plymouth was visited by a tremendous storm or hurricane, which is thus described in Morton's Memorial. 'It began in the morning a little before day, and grew, not by degrees, but came with great violence from the beginning to the great amazement of many: it blew down sundry houses, and uncovered divers others; divers vessels were lost at sea in it, and many more were in extreme danger. It caused the sea to swell in some places to the southward of Plymouth, as it rose to twenty feet right up and down, and made many of the Indians to climb into the trees for safety. It threw down all the corn to the ground, which never rose more, and the which, through the mercy of God, it being near the harvest time, was not lost, though much the worse; and had the wind continued without shifting, in likelihood it would have drowned some part of the country. It blew down many hundred thousand of trees; turning up the stronger by the roots, and breaking the high pine trees, and such like, in the midst, and the tall young oaks and walnut trees of good bigness were wound as withes by it,—very strange and fearful to behold. It began in the southeast and veered sundry ways, but the greatest force of it, at Plymouth, was from the former quarter: it continued not in extremity above five or six hours, before the violence of it began to abate; the marks of it will remain for *many years* in those parts where it was sorest. The moon suf-

ferred a great eclipse two nights after it.' There is a close similarity between the hurricane described by Mr. Morton, and that which we experienced at the same place in 1815.*

March 13th.—Thomas Boreman agreed, and was to be paid in beaver, at ten shillings a piece, or other commodities of valuable price, to be levied on the company, to do the fort in the manner following: all the posts, ten inches square, and not to stand above ten feet asunder; to be done with three rails between every post, the post and rails to be sawed, he to enclose the whole with sawed boards; to be nine feet high, and to be cut sharp at the top.

It appears that previous to this date the general court promulgated no penal laws, but the people were governed by the moral law of Moses and the New Testament, as paramount to all others. These laws indeed accord with that patriarchal simplicity of manners and morals, which were the crowning

* In the above mentioned tempest, a bark belonging to Mr. Allerton of Plymouth, was shipwrecked on an Island in Salem harbor, and 21 out of 23 persons were drowned. The vessel was returning from Ipswich to Marblehead, having on board Mr. Anthony Thacher, his wife and 4 children, and Rev. John Avery, his wife and 6 children; they were recently from England, and Mr. Avery was about to settle at Marblehead. None of the company were saved except Mr. Thacher and his wife, who were cast on the island in a remarkable manner, while their 4 children perished. According to Dr. C. Mather, the vessel was dashed to pieces on a rock; and while Mr. Avery and Mr. Thacher were hanging on the rock, Mr. Thacher holding his friend by the hand, and resolved that they should die together, Mr. Avery, having just finished a short and devout ejaculation, was by a wave swept off into the sea. Mr. Thacher gave to the island his own name, and to the rock *Avery's Fall*. Mr. Thacher became one of three grantees of land in the town of Yarmouth, county of Barnstable, where he died, in 1688, aged about 80 years. He was employed in various public offices, and represented the town in the general court at Plymouth, in 1643, and in ten subsequent years. His oldest son, the Hon. John Thacher, born after the shipwreck, was for several years a representative to the general court, and was one of the council of war, and one of the Governor's assistants. In 1692, he was chosen a member of the provincial council, in which station he continued till his death in 1713, aged 75 years. The descendants of this family are very numerous; the author of this history is of the fifth generation from Anthony Thacher Mr. Thomas Thacher, nephew to Anthony, and who came over with him, says Dr. Mather, 'had such a strong and sad impression upon his mind about the voyage, that he was induced to travel the journey by land, and thereby escaped the shipwreck.'

characteristics of the puritan fathers. Among the penalties inflicted on individuals under the administration of governor Bradford, governor Winslow, and governor Prince, from 1632 to 1640, we find the following instances recorded. Frances Sprague, for drinking overmuch, fined ten shillings; Frances Billingham and John Phillips, for drinking tobacco in the high way, twelve shillings each—this was probably using tobacco by smoking. Stephen Hopkins, presented for selling beer at two pence per quart, which was worth but one penny. John Barnes for sabbath-breaking, was fined thirty shillings, and set one hour in the stocks. Edward Holman, less guilty, fined twenty shillings. Thomas Clarke, for selling a pair of boots and spurs for fifteen shillings, which cost him but ten, fined thirty shillings. William Adey, for working on Sunday, was severely whipt at the post.

1636.—Edward Winslow was chosen governor this year.

Plymouth Declaration of Rights. The body of laws adopted by the colony of Plymouth, styled 'The general Fundamentals,' was now established. The first article is 'That no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, be made or imposed upon us at present, or to come, but such as has been, or shall be, enacted by the consent of the body of freemen or associates, or their representatives legally assembled; which is according to the free liberties of the free born people of England.'

The second article is, 'And for the well governing this colony, it is also ordered, that there be a free election annually of governor, deputy governor, and assistants, by the vote of the freemen of this corporation.' The fundamentals are dated, 1636. The style of enactment is, 'We, the associates of the colony of New Plymouth, coming hither as free born subjects of the kingdom of England, endowed with all and singular the privileges belonging to such, being assembled, do enact, ordain, and constitute,' &c.

Plymouth Laws.—'For the better government of the Indians, and for their improvement in civility and christianity, the assembly of Plymouth colony made several laws for preaching the gospel to them; for admitting Indian preachers among them, &c. with the concurrence of the principal Indians; for making orders and constituting courts, for appointing civil rulers, and other officers, to punish misdemeanors, with the liberty of appeal to the county court and court of assistants.'—*Holmes' Annals.*

Capital offences punished with death. Rebellion against the king, murder, solemn compaction or conversing with the devil, by way of witchcraft, or the like. In the formation of the laws,

regard was had, 'primarily and principally, to the ancient platform of God's law.'*

I have hitherto detailed the concerns of the colony and the town, hand in hand, without distinction. While the governor and assistants acquitted themselves of appropriate duties, they fulfilled those of magistrates and of selectmen. The court of assistants was composed of the governor and assistants, and the deputies from the several towns, forming the lower house.

In order to a more full understanding of the mode of government in the colony, it may be expedient here to present, in one view, a concise statement of the authority upon which it rested, until, with the other colonies, it was brought under the despotism of Andros. This will, necessarily, lead us to some anticipation of dates.

In the 18th year of his reign, (Nov. 3, 1620, while the Pilgrims were on their passage,) King James appointed Robert, Earl of Warwick, and 39 others, noblemen and gentlemen, to compose one body politic, to have one common seal, and to be styled, The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devonshire, for the planting, ruling and governing New-England in America. To this council or body politic, the King granted by patent, an extensive tract or territory in New-England, with the usual rights, privileges, and immunities. It was from this council that John Pierce obtained his patent, which he afterwards assigned to the merchant adventurers.

In the year 1629, (Jan. 13,) being the 5th year of the reign of King Charles I., the Plymouth colony received a patent or charter from the council, signed by the Earl of Warwick, as President, with the great seal of James I. affixed. This charter grants the territory of Plymouth colony to William Bradford and his associates, including also a tract of land 30 miles square on Kennebunk river. It recites the rise and progress of the plantation, and that it had increased to 300 people. But it never received the royal sanction and signature of King James, although they were repeatedly promised by his majesty. †

* 'Whatever imperfections may be justly ascribed to our fathers, (which, however, were as few as any mortals have discovered,) their judgment in forming their policy was founded on wise and benevolent principles. It was founded on revelation and reason too. It was consistent with the best, greatest, and wisest legislators of antiquity.'—*Pres. Adams.*

† This charter, with the box in which it came, is now in the office of the Register of Deeds in this town,

Under this patent, however, such as it was, and on the basis of the voluntary agreement, as expressed in the compact formed at Cape Cod in 1620, and which was uniformly acquiesced in by the settlers, all the powers of government of the colony were exercised, until the interruption by Andros.

On the second day of March, 1640, governor Bradford surrendered to the freemen the patent of the colony, which had been taken out in his name, with some reservations for the purchasers or old comers;* and the settlers proceeded to act as an independent colony, acknowledging, however, their obligation to obey the laws of England generally, and recognising the king as their sovereign. But their form of government was "a pure, unmixed and perfect democracy, where all power was exercised by the whole body of freemen or associates,"

"The pilgrims," says Mr. Baylies, in his valuable history of the Old Colony, "had adopted no constitution, or instrument of government, except the simple compact, which was signed in the cabin of the Mayflower, November, 1620, and which recognised no principle but that of allegiance to the king, and the controlling power of the majority of the people in the transactions of the colony. No laws were made for the general organization of the government; the limits of political rights and political powers were not defined; the governor and assistants maintained their small portion of authority rather by common consent, than by a lawful delegation of power. * * * * Crimes and punishments were neither declared nor defined. The only magistrates were the governor and assistants. The office of justice of the peace was unknown. Trials were had in the general court before juries, selected from the whole body of the freemen of the colony; and, until 1634, the governor and assistants were not by law considered a judicial court. The magistrates had no jurisdiction of civil actions, and in criminal offences their jurisdiction was confined to the power of binding over the accused to appear at the general court. The duties, powers and obligations of husband and wife, parent and

* In the year 1627, Gov. Bradford and a number of associates assumed the responsibility of the Company's debts, and gave bonds for the amount stipulated to be paid to the merchant adventurers in England. They afterwards entered into a contract with the rest of the Company to hire the trade of the colony for six years. Those who engaged in this contract were called *Purchasers*. Some, however, who had, probably, no concern in the contract, were included with the purchasers in a claim to special consideration, under the appellation of *Old Comers*.—*Davis's Edit. of the Memorial.*

child, guardian and ward, master and servant, &c., were controlled and influenced by usages which had been varied from the usages of England, &c. Marriage was deemed a civil contract, and was solemnized by the civil magistrate, and not by the pastor or elder. With respect to political objects, previous to the year 1636, the Plymouth colony may be considered to have been but a voluntary association, ruled by the majority, and not by fixed laws. It does not appear, except in a very few instances, that they availed themselves of their delegated powers under their patent to enact laws, until 1633. A few laws only, and such as were of the most urgent necessity, were then established. * * * * The power of the church in effect was superior to the civil power, but, in terms, was confined to the infliction of censure only."

Literally abstracted from the civilized world, our reverend puritan fathers held the bible in estimation as the basis of all laws; and the precepts of the gospel, the rules of their lives and the fountains of their dearest hopes. It was the inwoven sentiment of their hearts, that the sovereign power resides with the people, and this was the fundamental axiom upon which their government was reared.

It was this year enacted, that, on the first Tuesday of June, a governor and seven assistants should be chosen, 'to rule and govern the plantation within the limits of this corporation,' and the election was confined to the freemen, church membership being an indispensable qualification for freemen.

An oath was to be administered to the governor, the assistants, the freemen, and to all who resided among them. A treasurer and constable were annually chosen, but no sheriff.

It was ordered, that every constable-wick should be provided with stocks and whipping-posts. These were appendages to every meeting house till within the last fifty years.

It was provided that no servant, coming out of his time, or single person, be suffered to keep house for himself, until they were completely provided with arms and ammunition, and was not allowed to be housekeepers, or to build any cottage or dwelling, till such time as he be allowed by the governor and council of assistants, or some one or more of them.

1637.—Edward Winslow chosen governor this year. Great disturbance and perplexity was occasioned by one Samuel Gorton, lately from Boston. He endeavored to introduce heretical or obnoxious doctrines, and seduce the people to his opinions, and having provoked Mr. Ralph Smith, the minister, to a controversy, he was, on his complaint, summoned before the court for trial, and, conducting most insolently towards magistrates

and ministers, was fined and ordered to find security for good behavior, and to quit the place in fourteen days. He next went to Rhode Island, where he so conducted that he was sentenced to suffer corporal punishment by whipping, and was banished.

This year the colony of Connecticut was engaged in a war with the Pequot tribe of Indians, which ended in the utter overthrow of the tribe. Plymouth furnished 56 men, who marched for that service under the command of Capt. Miles Standish, but the war was terminated before their arrival at the scene of action.

1638.—Thomas Prince chosen governor this year. There was a great earthquake in New-England this year, on the first day of June. The earth shook with such violence, that, in some places, the people could not stand, without difficulty, in the streets, and most of the moveable articles in their houses were thrown down. This phenomenon formed a memorable epoch in the annals of New-England.

Execution. Four young men, who were servants at Plymouth, absconded from their masters, and, rambling abroad, met with an Indian in the woods near Providence, but within the jurisdiction of Plymouth; they killed him to rob him of his wampum; one of the murderers escaped, the other three were tried, and, confessing their guilt, were condemned and executed.* It may be thought extravagant to hang three Englishmen for one Indian, but it serves to show the stern purpose of the puritans, that the most rigid justice should not be withheld from the defenceless natives.

It is ordered, that if any man make a motion of marriage to any man's daughter or maid, without first obtaining leave of her parents or master, he shall be punished, according to the nature of the offence, by a fine not exceeding five pounds, or corporal punishment, or both, at the discretion of the bench.

Any person denying the scriptures to be a rule of life, shall suffer corporal punishment at discretion of the magistrates, so as it shall not extend to life or limb.

The court granted that Clark's Island, the Eel River Beach, Saquish, and the Gurnet's Nose, shall be and remain unto the town of Plymouth, with the woods thereupon.

1639.—William Bradford chosen governor this year. 'The

* The court, which tried the above mentioned murderers, consisted of governor William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, John Alden, John Jenney, John Brown, and John Atwood.

towns in Plymouth colony, for the first time, sent deputies for legislation. Their first general assembly was on the 4th of June. Hitherto, the governor and his assistants, under the general name of the associates of the colony of New Plymouth, were virtually the representatives of the people. All laws were enacted, and all government managed by them, for nearly twenty years. They had a few laws, which they termed general fundamentals; but, in general, they were governed by the common law and statutes of England.

The representatives from the town of Plymouth to the legislative assembly in general court this year, were William Paddy, Manasseh Kempton, Jr., John Cook, Jr., and John Durham.

This year the general court of Massachusetts passed the following order for the regulation of the ladies' dresses. 'No garment shall be made with short sleeves; and such as have garments with short sleeves, shall not wear the same, unless they cover the arm to the wrist; and hereafter, no person whatever shall make any garment for women, with sleeves more than half an ell wide (twenty-two and a half inches.)

The First Prison was ordered to be erected at Plymouth; to be twenty-two feet long, sixteen feet wide within walls, and two stories high; to have three floors, and covered with boards, and well finished. This prison was probably completed in 1641, as it is mentioned by some writers that the first prison was erected in that year. According to the Old Colony records, it was seated near Little Brook, hence called Prison Brook, where Mr. N. Russell's house now stands. It was this year ordered, that the grand jury in each town shall take notice of all *idle persons*, and inquire how they live. If they cannot give a good account of themselves, the constable shall bring them before the governor or magistrate. In 1640, by an additional law it was provided, that each complaint should be made on oath.

It was ordered, that *profane swearing* should be punished by sitting in the stocks three hours, or by imprisonment. For *telling lies*, a fine of ten shillings, or the stocks for two hours, for each offence.

This year the great sachem, Massasoit, and Mooanam, his son, came into the court held at Plymouth, on the twenty-fifth day of September, and desired that the ancient league and confederacy, formerly made with the government of Plymouth, wherein he acknowledged himself subject to the king of England and his successors, may stand and remain inviolable.

The ancient confederacy was fully confirmed for perpetuity.

by Massasoit and his son, and also by the governor of Plymouth colony, on their part.

1640.—William Bradford was chosen governor, and John Jenney, John Howland, John Atwood, and William Paddy were the representatives to the legislature. J. B. was presented for buying rye at four shillings per bushel, and selling it at five shillings; also for selling thread at five shillings per pound.

Colebrook South meadows, and Lakenham West meadows, were granted to divers persons. At this early period some scattered cottages began to extend on the western precincts of the township of Plymouth, on the path to Namasket (Middleborough.)

1641.—Mr. John Jenney was allowed certain privileges at Clark's Island to make salt, which he was to sell to the inhabitants at two shillings the bushel. Herring wear let for three years to three persons, who are to deliver the shares of herrings, and to receive 1s. 6d. the thousand for their trouble. A barque, of forty or fifty tons, was built at Plymouth, January 24, 1641. The estimated expense was £200, and the whole was divided into shares of one eighth or one sixteenth, and were contributed by thirteen persons. This was doubtless the first vessel of size ever built at Plymouth.

It was ordered, that every house-holder within the town shall pay a half penny for each person in his family, except poor people who have no cattle, for every wolf that shall be killed within the liberties of the town, and the killer shall bring the skin to Mr. Jenney, and there receive corn for his pay, Mr. Jenney to have the skin for his pains. The winter, this year, was extremely severe; the harbor and bays frozen over, so as to be passable, five weeks, for men, horses, oxen and carts.

Any person living and quietly settled in any township, without any objection being made within three months after his coming, was to be reputed an inhabitant of that town.

Provision for the support of the Poor. This year each township, by an order and general agreement in a public town-meeting, was required to make competent provision for the support of its poor, as shall be found most convenient and suitable. Children or elderly persons sent out of town to be nursed, educated, or doctored, and falling into want, were to receive relief from the towns from which they were sent. Children of those, who received relief from the town, were to be put to work in fitting employments.

1642.—William Bradford was elected governor, and John Doan and John Cooke deputies. The use of thirty acres of

land at Clark's Island, was granted, for twenty-one years, to the five partners that make salt.

At a town meeting it was ordered, that a fortification be made about the ordnance, and another piece mounted on Fort Hill, and the governor, Mr. Prince, Mr. Paddy, Mr. Atwood, and Mr. Jenney were desired to agree with the workmen to have it done speedily.

1643.—Edward Winslow was this year elected governor, and Mr. Prince, Mr. Jenney, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Paddy, and Mr. N. Souther were the deputies.

This is the memorable epoch of the *First Union of the New England Colonies*. A confederacy had been in agitation several years. As early as 1637, the subject was discussed; and the following year, articles of union, for amity, offence and defence, mutual advice and assistance upon all necessary occasions, were drawn, and referred to the next year for further consideration. Difficulties, however, occurred, which retarded the execution of the design, until the present year. The colonies of Connecticut, New Haven and Plymouth, despatched Commissioners to Boston in May, at the time of the session of the Massachusetts general court. This court appointed commissioners to meet those of the other colonies. A spirit of harmony and mutual condescension was auspicious to the great object, and on the 19th of May the articles were completed and signed at Boston. The reasons assigned for this union were, the dispersed state of the colonies; the vicinity of the Dutch, Swiss, and French, who were inclined to encroachments; the hostile disposition of the neighboring Indians; the appearance of a general combination of these savage tribes, to extirpate the English colonies; the commencement of civil contests in the parent country; the impossibility of obtaining aid from England in any emergency; and in fine the alliance already formed between the colonies by the sacred ties of religion. The commissioners declared, that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, they be and continue one; and henceforth be called by the name of the United Colonies of New England. Here we may discern the germ of our present national system.

The members of this league were deemed by all their neighbors as one body, with regard to their public transactions, though the peculiar affairs of each continued to be managed by its own courts and magistrates.

On the completion of the colonial confederacy, several Indian sachems came in and submitted to the English government, among whom were Miantonomoh, the Narraganset, and Uncus,

the Mohegan chief. The union rendered the colonies formidable to the Dutch as well as Indians, and respectable in the view of the French; maintained general harmony among themselves, and secured the peace and rights of the country; preserved the colonies during the civil wars and unsettled state of England; was the grand instrument of their defence in Philip's war, and was essentially serviceable in civilizing and christianizing the Indians. The proportion of men assigned to the colonies by this alliance, was 100 to Massachusetts, and 45 to each of the other three colonies, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven. This union subsisted with some alterations until the year 1686, when all the charters were in effect vacated by a commission from King James II. This confederacy was acknowledged and countenanced by the authority in England, from its beginning until the restoration; and in letters from King Charles II. notice is taken of it, without any exception to the establishment. —*Holmes's Annals, where he notices numerous other authorities.*

A watch-house was this year built of brick, on Fort Hill.—The bricks were furnished by Mr. Grimes at 11s. a thousand. This is the earliest notice of brick. In digging a grave on the summit of Fort Hill, a few years since, a large body of brick was discovered a few feet beneath the surface of the earth.

Householders were ordered to provide themselves with fire arms and ammunition, and drum-heads to be procured by subscription. In September, the whole township was classed into watches, which were to be kept from sunset to avoid the danger of unexpected attacks from the Indians.

The town agreed with John Smith to be the town's cow keeper the present year for 40 bushels of corn and a pair of steers. The corn is to be levied as follows. The governor 1 peck and a pottle, Mr. Prince 1 peck and a pottle, Mr. Paddy 1 peck and a pottle, Nathaniel Souther 1 peck, Mr. Hanbury 1 peck, Robert Paddock 1 peck, Mr. Jenney 1 peck, and a half in biscuit, Mr. Doane half a peck, Mr. Rayner half a peck, Thomas Southworth half a peck, Richard Sparrow half a peck, John Wood half a peck, Mr. Willet half a peck, Samuel Hicks half a peck, Josiah Cook 1 pottle, Rowland Knowles 1 pottle, John Finney 1 pottle, Mr. Hopkins 1 pottle.

Wolf traps were, by the colony court, ordered to be made; and the whole town was classed to make them at various places. The wolves made distressing depredations on their herds and folds many years. Governor's assistants were classed on this occasion.

1644.—John Atwood, who had been one of the assistants, and also a deputy to the general court, died this year. He was a

man of much usefulness in the place, and, in life and death, exemplified the christian character. In the course of this year the inhabitants of the town, but chiefly the church members, had in contemplation a singular project, which well nigh effected a total abandonment of their first labors and footpaths on our shore. It appears by the church records, that a considerable part of their body viewed their present establishment as barren and unproductive. They became so dissatisfied with their unpromising location, that they were willing to relinquish all their interest in it for a more advantageous situation. Individuals were frequently removing, and the church began seriously to think, whether it were not better to remove jointly and bodily, than to be thus weakened and insensibly dissolved. Many meetings and much consultation resulted in indecision and contrariety of opinion. Some, who opposed the removal, would yet assent to it, rather than see a dissolution of the church, provided a more eligible situation could be agreed on, and a majority at length acquiesced. The place selected was no other than *Nauset*, now Eastham, on Cape Cod, and the purchase was made, merely from a superficial view. But on a further examination, the new territory disappointed their expectations, and they changed their resolution. It was found to be 50 miles from the centre of the settlements, remote from all society, and surrounded by a wilderness of savages. Its extent so limited as to be insufficient to accommodate the whole society, much less capable of receiving the increasing numbers. The harbor was incomparably less commodious, and more exposed to enemies than that of Plymouth. From these and other considerations, the church, as a body, changed their determination, but a considerable number of respectable individuals resolved on a removal, and the church relinquished their rights, which were purchased by individuals, who removed and took possession.*

Orders agreed upon by the Council of War. 1. That the lead be made up into bullets, and men hired to do it. 2. That when an alarm is made and continued in Plymouth, Duxbury, or Marshfield, there shall be 20 men sent from Plymouth, and as many from Duxbury, and 10 from Marshfield, to relieve the place where the alarm is continued. 3. And when any other places stand in need of help, upon the continuing of the alarm,

* Among the principal people who removed from Plymouth to Eastham, were Thomas Prince, who had been twice governor of the colony, John Doane, one of the deacons of the church, Nicholas Snow, Josiah Cook, Richard Higgins, John Smalley, and Edward Bangs. Duxbury and Marshfield had before been settled entirely from Plymouth.

then a beacon to be fired, or else a great fire to be made, for Plymouth, upon the gallows hill, on the captain's hill for Duxbury, and on the hill by Mr. Thomas's house for Marshfield.

'It is worthy of serious remark,' says the writer in *Historical Collections*, vol. iii. second series, 'that nearly the same regulations have been resorted to by their posterity, in the war of the revolution, and now, (1815) not with the savages, but with a people of kindred origin.'

On the 16th of April of this year, the church and society were most grievously afflicted by the death of William Brewster, their ruling elder and kind benefactor. The life of this excellent man was protracted to the 84th year of his age.—*See his character in the Ecclesiastical History.*

1646.—Great agitation was occasioned in Plymouth this year, by the arrival of Capt. Thomas Cromwell, with three ships of war, bringing with them several rich prizes, taken from the Spaniards. His seamen were exceedingly intemperate and riotous; one of them attempted the life of his commander, who, wresting his rapier from him, gave him a mortal wound on his head. The captain was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted.

The town was at this time almost deserted, in consequence of the removals to Eastham, and other towns, at different times. Governor Winthrop represents it as a special interposition of divine providence, that Capt. Cromwell's squadron should have been compelled by stress of weather to put into the harbor, as, during their continuance of fourteen days, they spent liberally, and gave freely to the poorer sort. The freemen and townsmen, in town at this time, were, in number, only seventy-nine.

Mr. Edward Winslow was this year a third time despatched as agent to England, for the adjustment of some difficulties respecting the colonies of both Massachusetts and Plymouth. He executed his commission with great ability, and such was his high standing in that country, that he accepted some employment there, under O. Cromwell, and never returned to Plymouth, which was much lamented by his brethren in the colony.—*See life of E. W., page 90.*

In town meeting ordered, that, whereas there is too much neglect of appearance at town meetings, if any one neglect to come to town meetings when regularly summoned thereto, he shall be liable to pay a fine of twelve pence for every such default, unless he have a sufficient and lawful excuse.

It was this year required by the general court that a town clerk should be appointed and ordained, to keep in each town a register of the day and year of the marriage, birth and burial

of every man, woman, or child, within the township. Every father, mother or next in relation was required to certify to the register, keeper or town clerk, the name of the day of the birth of every child so born within his house, within a month next after the birth, under penalty of 3s. for such neglect, or for neglecting to inform of marriages. The town was also required to publish all contracts of marriages. Towns refusing or neglecting to choose deputies were fined 50s., and deputies neglecting to attend court, without sufficient reason, were fined 20s.

1649.—*The death of Governor Winthrop*, of Massachusetts, this year, 1649, was considered as a heavy loss to all New-England. It occasioned much grief and sorrow at Plymouth, where his counsel and advice had been often sought and received, as from one of sound judgment and the purest integrity. He died at the age of sixty. His life and character are ably delineated in the American Biography, and by many other writers who have been justly impressed with a sense of his worth and excellence.

In town meeting at the house of Governor Bradford, it was ordered, that whoever shall kill a wolf or wolves, and bring testimony thereof by the skin or head, shall have 15s. for each one killed within the town's liberties, and several persons engaged to pay two coats apiece to any Indian who shall kill a wolf, and make it known to the governor by undoubted testimony, and such as shall kill lesser wolves shall have an axe or hatchet for each one killed. And it was further agreed by the townsmen present, that as the court has ordered that wolf-traps be put in practice, five traps or more be forthwith made by several companies in the town, and that Nathaniel Morton give notice, by papers, of the names of such as are to join together for the end aforesaid, that they may be made and tended.

Town meetings were first named to be held in the meeting-house this year, and seven discreet men were chosen, five being a quorum, whose duty it should be to act in behalf of the town in disposing of lands; to make inquiry into the state and condition of the poor, to provide for their comfortable support, and to find them employment; to direct to the proper means of relief for the aged and decrepid, and to attend to the affairs of the town generally. The duties assigned to these fathers of the town being the same which afterwards were committed to the selectmen, they may be considered as the first selectmen ever chosen in the colony.

1651.—At town-meeting it was ordered, that if any persons should be disabled from appearing at town-meetings in person, they may have liberty to send in their votes by proxy, for the

choice of governor, assistants, commissioners, and treasurer. Voting for the choice of officers, was, in the days of our fathers, considered as a civil duty incumbent upon all, and it was enjoined under a penalty, unless the party could prove that he was prevented by some unavoidable impediment.

Died this year at Marshfield, William Thomas, and his remains were honorably buried there. He was one of the merchant adventurers in England connected with the Plymouth planters, and came over about the year 1630. Secretary Morton says of him, that "he was a well approved and well grounded Christian, and one that had a sincere desire to promote the common good, both of church and state." He was chosen an assistant in 1642, and was re-elected to that office, annually, until his death. His son, Nathaniel, served in Philip's War, in 1675. A grandson, as is supposed, named Nathaniel, was for many years Judge of Probate for the county of Plymouth, and Judge of the Supreme Court from 1712 to 1718. Dr. William Thomas, late of this town, and General John Thomas, late of Kingston, were descendants of William Thomas. Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Esq., who was a lineal descendant, espoused the royal cause at the commencement of the Revolution, and was a mandamus counsellor. He abandoned his native country, and joined the British. His son, John Thomas, Esq., occupies the ancient mansion at Marshfield.

Nathaniel Basset and Joseph Prior were fined 20s. each, for disturbing the church in Duxbury; and at the next town-meeting or training-day, both were to be bound to a post for two hours in some public place, with a paper on their heads, on which their crime was to be written in capital letters. Miss J. Boulton, for slandering, was sentenced to sit in the stocks during the court's pleasure, and a paper written with capital letters to be made fast unto her all the time of her sitting there; all of which was accordingly performed.

1655.—Jonathan Coventry, of Marshfield, was presented for making a motion of marriage to Catharine Bradbury, without her master's consent. L. Ramsgate was presented for lying, slandering, and defaming her brother-in-law. Joanna, the wife of O. Mosely, was presented for beating her husband, and getting her children to help her, and bidding them knock him in the head, and wishing his victuals might choke him. Punished at home.

Edward Winslow. This gentleman was born in the year 1594, and was the son of Edward Winslow, of Droitwich, in Worcestershire, England, whose family was ancient and honorable. He was one of the most efficient and illustrious set-

tlers of the colony of Plymouth. In early life, while travelling on the continent of Europe, he became acquainted with John Robinson, and soon united himself with the church under his pastoral charge at Leyden, where he settled and married. A stern advocate for the puritan cause, he embarked with the first company of the Leyden church in the Mayflower, and on his arrival at Cape Cod, December 11, 1620, subscribed the memorable covenant of incorporation, and his name stands the third on the list. He was one of the company which, in the shallop, first explored the shores of Cape Cod, and which proceeded thence to Plymouth harbor, and reached Clark's Island in great distress, and which landed there on the third day after. Mr. Winslow was one of those who first came on shore, and selected the place as the foundation of Plymouth settlement. Possessing a sound intellect, a pious heart, and happy address, his eminent services in mitigating the sufferings, and promoting the settlement and welfare of the lonely pilgrims, entitle him to the gratitude of posterity. Accordingly we find his name mentioned, with honor, in all the records of transactions pertaining to our earliest history. His family consisted of his wife, Elizabeth, and three other persons. But on the 24th of March, 1621, his wife died, and, on the 12th of May following, he married Susannah, the widow of William White. This was the first marriage ever solemnized in New England, and the lady was the mother of Peregrine White, the first English child born in the new colony. When the great sagamore, Massasoit, made his first appearance on Strawberry Hill, inviting an interview with the settlers, Mr. Winslow was deputed to meet him, and he voluntarily placed himself a hostage in the hands of the Indians, while their chief, Massasoit, held his interview with governor Carver (page 35). In July, 1621, Mr. Winslow and Mr. Stephen Hopkins were appointed to visit Massasoit, at his cabin at Pokanoket, for the purpose of exploring the country, and ascertaining the situation, character and strength of the tribe, and to cultivate their friendship. He had the address to accomplish the object of his mission, and to confirm the treaty of amity with the great sachem. In the month of March, 1623, Mr. Winslow, with John Hampden, was again despatched to visit Massasoit when dangerously sick, and was the happy means of restoring him to health when apparently about expiring. The details of this visit have already been given (page 52 to 55). In the year 1623, Mr. Winslow was despatched to England in the Ann, as an agent, to transact some concerns for the colony, and, in the short space of six months, he returned in the ship Charity, bringing provisions,

clothing, and the first stock of neat cattle ever in New England. While in England he published a narrative of the settlement and transactions of the colony of Plymouth, entitled "Good News from New England, or, A Relation of things remarkable in that Plantation—by Edward Winslow." This narrative is abridged in Purchase's Pilgrims, and has been of great utility to all succeeding historians. The author having been personally concerned in all the transactions which he related, and his veracity unquestionable, his writings are considered as entitled to unlimited confidence. His narrative contains an interesting account of the manners and customs of the aboriginal tribes, with which he had made himself acquainted, and his writings will be read with profit by all who feel an interest in the subject, and have a relish for simplicity and truth. During the same year he was again sent to England as agent for the colony. In the year 1625 he was elected one of the five assistants in the colonial government, in which office he was continued till 1633, when he was elected governor of the colony for one year. From his activity, fortitude and perseverance, Mr. Winslow was well qualified to conduct enterprises and trading voyages, which he willingly performed for the benefit of the company. He undertook excursions of traffic to Penobscot, Kennebec, and Connecticut rivers. In 1635, he accepted another mission to England, jointly for the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts. The subjects requiring this agency were the infringements made on the New England territories, by the French on the east, and the Dutch on the west; and, also, to answer complaints which had been made to the Government against the Massachusetts colony, by Thomas Morton, that miscreant, who, for his turbulent conduct at Mount Wollaston, had been twice expelled the country. It was in the execution of this mission that Mr. Winslow was subjected to the ignoble abuse and tyranny of Archbishop Laud, as recorded in the ecclesiastical history in this volume. When he returned to Plymouth, 1636, he was cordially received, and elected to the office of governor, but the year following took his place among the magistrates. In 1643, the New England colonies united into a confederacy for mutual defence, when Mr. W. was chosen one of the commissioners in behalf of Plymouth, and was continued in that office three years, when in 1646 he was persuaded to undertake another embassy to England, to answer to the complaints of Samuel Gorton and others, who had charged the colonists with religious intolerance and persecution. At this period, the puritan interest in England was predominant, and governor Winslow being

in high estimation for his intrinsic merit, by those in power, he was enabled to accomplish the object in view, to universal satisfaction. He was now in great favor with Oliver Cromwell and his officers, and was invited to accept of employment in his service. Accordingly, in 1654, he received the appointment of first commissioner, on the part of the commonwealth, to arbitrate and determine the value of the English ships seized and detained by the King of Denmark, in 1652. Governor Winslow had then, for 34 years, resided in an American colony, a compeer with those puritan exiles and outcasts who were deemed unworthy of consideration. The appointment therefore, to the office of first commissioner in a concern of such magnitude, implies a high degree of confidence in the merit and character of governor Winslow by the Protector, and is a lasting monument to the honor of him on whom it was conferred. The last public service performed by governor Winslow was in 1655, when he received from Cromwell the appointment of commissioner, with two others, to superintend the operations of the Fleet and Army sent to the Spanish West Indies, under admiral Penn and General Venables. Having, on this service, been subjected to extraordinary fatigue and anxiety of mind, he was seized with a fever of the climate, to which he fell a sacrifice, on the 8th of May, 1655, aged 61. * His remains were committed to the deep with the honors of war, 42 guns being fired on the solemn occasion.

The New England Memorial, and whole early history of our Country, bear ample testimony to the energy, activity, and well directed exertions of governor Winslow. His efforts in behalf of the native Indians illustrate his benevolence and charity. When in England, he was indefatigable in the cause, employing his interest and influence with members of Parliament, and other gentlemen of quality and fortune, for the promotion of the object of his pious sympathy. The result was, an act of Parliament, in 1649, incorporating a society in England for propagating the gospel among the Indians in New England. The commissioners of the United Colonies were constituted a board of correspondents, and distributors of the money which was supplied in England, by charitable donations from all the

* "The eighth of May, west from 'Spaniola's shore,
God took from us our grand commissioner,
Winslow by name, a man in chiefest trust,
Whose life was sweet and conversation just,
Whose parts and wisdom most men's did excel,
An honor to his place, as all can tell."

cities, towns, and parishes in the kingdom. This society is still in existence, though the board of correspondents has been discontinued since our separation from Great Britain. His "Good News from New-England" is a very rare work; the abridged copy in Purchase's Pilgrims being all that the Massachusetts Historical Society could obtain for re-publication in their collections. His interesting account of the manners and customs of the aboriginal tribes, found in the appendix to Belknap's Biography, Vol. 2, cannot fail of being gratifying to the antiquarian. When the celebrated Roger Williams had become alienated from the favorable regards of his countrymen, and was reduced to extreme indigence, governor Winslow extended to him the hand of charity, and afforded him relief by his advice and pecuniary contribution. "It pleased the father of mercies," said Mr. Williams, "to touch many hearts with relentings, among whom that great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted, and he kindly visited me at Providence and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife for our supply." "In New England," says Dr. Holmes's American Annals, "his name will never be forgotten. His portrait is an excellent painting; the eye is black and expressive, and the whole countenance very interesting. The portrait is taken with whiskers. Josiah, son of Edward, is drawn without them. Beards were left off early in New England, and about the same time they were in the Old.

In the year 1637, a valuable tract of land at a place called Green's harbor, at Marshfield, was granted to Mr. Winslow and others, who established themselves there as permanent settlers. Mr. Winslow erected a handsome dwelling-house, and called his seat Careswell, from a castle and seat in Staffordshire, England, as conjectured by Dr. Belknap. This seat received improvements from time to time, and continued in the Winslow family till within the last few years; and at that place will be found the sepulchre which contains the ashes of the honorable family. Governor Winslow had one child only, a son, Josiah, who sustained the office of governor of the colony from 1673 to 1680. His life and character will be given below. Edward Winslow had four brothers,* John, Kenelm, Gilbert, and Josiah, all of whom emigrated to the new colony; Gilbert in the Mayflower, John, the next year, in the Fortune. The

* The following notice of the Winslow family was furnished by a lineal descendant of John Winslow:—

John Winslow was the second son of Edward Winslow, of Droitwich, England, whose family consisted of five sons and three

latter married Mary Chilton, and settled in Boston, where his descendants now reside. One of the brothers settled at Rochester, county of Plymouth, one at Harwich, Cape Cod, and

daughters, viz. Edward, born 1595—John, 1596—Elynor, 1598—Kenelm, 1599—Gilbert, 1600—Elizabeth, 1601—Magdalen, 1604—Josiah, 1605.

John as is recorded in page 94, followed his brother Edward, and arrived at Plymouth in the *Fortune* in 1621. Gilbert who came in the *Mayflower* in 1620, it is said, by the tradition in the family, returned to England, and did not revisit New England. Kenelm and Josiah came over at later periods, but the date of their arrival is not known; Josiah is supposed to have early removed to Duxbury, and from this branch is thought to be derived those of the name in Duxbury, Cape Cod, and Maine. Kenelm, or his son Kenelm, purchased a tract of land in Rhode Island, and the many branches of the family in that vicinity are, no doubt, descended from him.

John Winslow, the next brother to Edward, was married in Plymouth, before 1627, to Mary Chilton, daughter of James Chilton, one of the first emigrants in the Pilgrim. The tradition of the family, confirmed by a writing at the death of Ann Taylor, in 1773, the last grand-child of John Winslow, is, that Mary Chilton "was the first female who set her foot on the American shore." This may refer to the landing at Cape Cod, where, as is mentioned by Belknap, "the women went ashore to wash their clothes;" or, to the landing at Plymouth, which, is not known. John Winslow resided in Plymouth till about 1656. His children were mostly, if not all born there. Their names are—John, (wives' names unknown)—Sarah, married 1st, Miles Standish, Junr. who died in 1661—no issue; 2d, Tobias Payne of Boston, having issue by this marriage; (this was the ancestor of the Payne family of Boston) 3d, Middlecot of Boston—Isaac, married Parnell—Susanna, married Robert Latham—Benjamin, his birth recorded in Plymouth records, 1653—Mary, born at Plymouth 1630, married Edward Gray, a merchant of Plymouth, 1650—Joseph, no particulars of him known—Mercy, married Arthur Harris Samuel, died Oct. 14, 1680, supposed in Boston—Ann, married Le Blond of Boston.

John Winslow was by profession a merchant, was selectman in Plymouth, and held other offices. In 1661, with Boyes, Tyng and Brattle, he purchased the colony lands on the Kennebec River, and this is thought to be the beginning of the well known "Plymouth Company." In 1637, he sold a house in New or North street for £16. It is not known whether he resided here; his place being in the North part of Ancient Plymouth, called "Plain Dealing." This estate was sold to his son-in-law Edward Gray, about the time of his removal to Boston, and, by the latter, disposed of to the colony in 1662; who purchased it as a residence for governor Prince. Mary, wife of Edward Gray, died in 1663, leaving, as is supposed, two or three daughters and one son; John Winslow died in Boston

one at Portsmouth, N. H. There were also three sisters, Elynor, Elizabeth, and Magdalen. Whether either of these accompanied their brothers to this place is uncertain. In the

in 1674, aged 78 years; Mary Winslow, his wife, died in Boston in 1678. Two of their grand-daughters were Mercy Harris, and Desire Gray (born 1651); the latter of whom was married to Nathaniel Southworth 1671. Mr. Southworth bought the estate of "Plain Dealing" in 1677, but in after years removed to Middleborough and there died, leaving three sons and several daughters.

John Winslow, by will, March 30, 1673, gives his brother Josiah £20; his 'kinsman,' meaning his nephew, Josiah, governor of New Plymouth, £20; his grand-child Susanna Latham £30; to the others of his daughter Latham's children £5 each; to the children of Edward Gray, by his daughter Mary Gray, £20 a-piece; to his grand-child Mercy Harris £5; to William Payne, son of his daughter Sarah Middlecot, £50; to Parnell Winslow, daughter of his son Isaac, £50; to the children of his sons Edward and Joseph £5 each; the bulk of his estate is devised to his wife Mary, and the house and gardens, at her death, to his eldest son John. The inventory of his estate was £2,946 14 0. Mary Winslow, by will, 31st July, 1676, recognises six children as then living; viz. John, Edward, Joseph, Samuel, Susanna Latham, and Sarah; and three grand-children—Mary Pollard, Mercy Harris, and Susanna Latham. From the eldest son John, (through John son of the latter,) it is supposed that the family of the late General John Winslow of Boston is descended.

Edward, the fourth son, it is thought, had a first wife in Plymouth before he left that place. His second wife was Elizabeth Hutchinson, daughter of Ann Hutchinson, celebrated in the history of Massachusetts for her religious zeal, persecution, banishment, and tragical death in 1643, (being slain by the Indians with her family of 16 persons, except one daughter beyond New Haven). Edward Winslow died in Boston in 1682, aged 48 years; his wife Elizabeth, in 1728, aged 89. The deaths of the other children of John Winslow, except Samuel, who died in 1680, are not known. The children of Edward and Elizabeth were, Edward and four daughters, of whom Susanna married an Alden, supposed son of John Alden, commander of the Province Sloop (who being accused of witchcraft during the witch mania of 1692, suffered imprisonment 15 weeks in Boston). Another daughter, Mrs. Ann Taylor, died in Milton in 1773, aged 94—and was the last surviving grand-child of John Winslow and Mary Chilton.

Edward, son of Edward and grandson of John, was born in 1669; married Hannah Moody, daughter of Rev. Joshua Moody (minister of the old church in Boston, a zealous opponent of the witch mania, and who suffered for it by being obliged to leave his church). Edward Winslow had a family of nine sons and two daughters. His eldest son Joshua, and youngest, Isaac, were two of the principal

Winslow family the real estate was inherited by the sons, and the personal by the daughters, many of whom were from necessity obliged to dispose of valuable articles out of the family, as diamond rings, silver salvers, silver skillets, and other articles of plate. The following commission was presented to the

merchants in Boston, from 1730 to 1768. One of his sons, John, also lived in Boston till 1775 and moved to Dunstable, where he died in 1788, aged 88.

Two of his sons, William and Samuel, were in the commissariat department at the siege of Louisburg in 1745, and both died there: some of their descendants are now (1835) living in Boston. The youngest daughter of Edward Winslow, by a 2d wife, Elizabeth, married Richard Clark, an eminent merchant of Boston; and the daughter of the latter married John S. Copley, the celebrated painter; their descendants are in England, Canada, and Boston. Edward Winslow was a gold-smith; he was also Colonel of the Boston Regiment, and Sheriff of the County of Suffolk; from about 1722 to 1742, his residence was in State street, the estate which is now the Tremont Bank. He died in Boston in 1753, aged 84.

Joshua Winslow, great-grand-son of John and Mary Chilton, married Elizabeth Savage, and had a numerous family, (16 children.) Died October, 1767. Isaac Winslow, brother of the aforesaid, married Lucy Waldo, daughter of Brigadier Samuel Waldo; had retired from business and lived at his seat in Roxbury: his second wife was Jemima Dubuc. He had by the first wife 11 children, and two by the last. He was a loyalist, having been appointed a mandamus counsellor in 1774. He died in New York in 1777.—His descendants are principally in Boston, but many also in England.

Edward, the eldest son of Joshua, and great-great-grand-son of John and Mary Chilton, was an Episcopal clergyman, settled at Braintree; he was a loyalist, and died in New York about 1780.—From him are descended those of the name in North Carolina. Joshua, a younger brother, was a merchant, married a daughter of Commodore Loring, and died in Boston in 1775. His descendants are all in England. John was also a loyalist, and died in New York in 1781, leaving no children living.

The daughters of Joshua Winslow first named, were mostly married, and, excepting the eldest, Margaret, died without leaving children living.

Margaret married Colonel Benjamin Pollard, Sheriff of Suffolk, and many of their descendants are now living in Boston. Isaac, the youngest, born in 1743, was educated for a profession, but abandoned this and became a merchant. His first wife was a Sparhawk, daughter of the clergyman, of Salem; his second wife was Mary Davis, daughter of Benjamin Davis of Boston, by whom he had six sons and two daughters. He died in Boston in 1793. His descendants are now in Boston, New York, and South Carolina.

Pilgrim Society in 1831, by Mr. Pelham Winslow, late of Boston, a lineal descendant of Governor Winslow. This curious document is peculiarly interesting to the antiquarians, and particularly valuable as relating to governor Winslow. It is written in a beautiful hand on parchment, which is pasted on a wooden back, and the whole enclosed in a frame 3 feet by 2 feet 2 inches. There are some defects in this copy which require explanation. The *brackets* of this form [] enclose those words which are not perfectly distinct in the original, but about which there is little doubt. The *blanks* denote that words formerly written are illegible. It will be observed, that the parts so obscured are small in amount, and that the sense is not much affected by their loss. The words "Oliver Lord Protector," with which the Instrument commences, are written in large German Text letters, the first letter "O" being much larger than the others, and enclosing a bust of Cromwell. A border runs along the top of the Instrument, in which are represented two crosses and a harp, each encircled by a wreath of flowers, and intended, apparently, as emblems of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Great Seal of England, originally affixed to this instrument is wanting. The signature cannot be discerned by looking directly upon the surface of the parchment, but by turning it to the light, and looking obliquely, the forms of the letters "Oliver P." may be easily traced, although not any of the ink remains. The word Protector was probably not written in full, but expressed by the simple initial P. in the same manner as the royal R. is used. The bracket at the end of the last line marks the place of a word, in the original, which cannot be made out.

Although this instrument was written on parchment, the letters are so obscured by the lapse of one hundred and eighty-one years, that no one could be found willing to decypher it, till recently the Rev. W. P. Lunt has effected the difficult task in a very satisfactory manner, and it is now, for the first time, presented to the public.

COMMISSION
FROM
OLIVER CROMWELL
TO
GOVERNOR EDWARD WINSLOW.



OLIVER LORD PROTECTOR

Of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, and the Lords, the States Generall of the United Provinces respectively, To all and Singular, to whome these presents shell come, or whome they shall any way touch or concerne, Greeting. Whereas in the twenty-eight article of the Treatie of Peace lately made and concluded betwixt us the said Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, on the one parte, and us the said Lords the States Generall of the United Provinces, on the other, It is mutually accorded and agreed upon, as follows, viz :

That Restitution shall be made of all and singular the English Shippes and Goods seized and detained within the Dominions of the King of Denmarke, since the eighteenth day of May in the year one Thousand Six Hundred fifty and Two, and remaining yet in specie, together with the true and just price of such as are sold, imbezilled or otherwise disposed of within flourteene dayes after the Arrival of the Merchants and Masters interested therein, or their assignes for the receiving of them—and also that Dammages be given for the losses sustained by the English by reason of the said detention, according to what shall be arbitrated and awarded by Edward Winslow, James Russell, John Beex, William Vander Cruyssen, Arbitrators indifferently chosen as well on the parte of his Highnesse, as the said States Generall (the forme or Instrument of which arbitration is already agreed upon) to examine and determine the demands of the Merchants, Masters, and owners to whom the said Shippes, Goods and Dammages appertaine, which Arbitra-

tors are to meet at Goldsmith's Hall here in London the Twentie Seventh of June next, Old Stile or sooner if it may be, and shall the same day, make solemne oath before the Judge of the High Court of Admiraltie of England That they will proceede without respect or relation had to either State or any particular interest whatsoever: and moreover the foresaid Arbitrators shall from the first day of August next unless they agree upon sentence sooner be shutt up in a Chamber by themselves without fire, candle, meat, drink or any other refreshment till such time as they come to an Agreement concerning the matters referred to them. And the sentence which they shall award shall be Obligatorie to both parties: And the States Generall of the United Provinces doe firmly oblige themselves by these presents to execute or performe the same, as alsoe to pay such summe of moneyes here at London as the said Arbitrators shall adjudge to be paid for the use of the said Owners to such person or persons as his Highnesse shall nominate within Twentie five Dayes after Adjudication made. And the said States Generall shall within Two Dayes after the Instruments of Ratification of the said Articles of Peace are mutually delivered, pay here at London the summe of five Thousand Pounds Sterling towards the charges of the Merchants, Masters or their Assignes for their journey to Denmarke, and the summe of Twentie Thousand Ryx Dollars to such persons as his Highnesse shall appoint within Six Dayes after the Arrivall of the said Persons there, for the use of the Merchants, Masters and Owners towards repairing their Shippes and fitting them for Sea, which said Summes shall be accounted in part of payment of such summe as shall be awarded by the said Arbitrators—and that Caution and Securitie be given (the forme of which Caution is already agreed upon) by sufficient and responsible men living here in London and binding themselves in an Obligation of One Hundred and fourtie Thousand Pounds Sterling (which Obligation is to be delivered at the same time with the Instrument of Ratifications) that restitution shall be made according to the premisses, and that the submission and payment as well of the Twentie Thousand Ryx Dollars, as of such summe or other things as shall be adjudged and determined as aforesaid shall on their parte be duely performed. And if all and singular the Conditions be not really and effectually performed on the parte of the Lords the States Generall in manner and time aforesaid, Then the said Obligation shall be forfeited, and the Said Summe of One Hundred and fourtie Thousand Pounds Sterling shall be paid to such person or persons as his Highnesse shall nominate to the end the Losses of the Merchants, Masters and interested may be satisfied.

NOW WE THE SAID LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and alsoe We the said Lords the States Generall of the United Provinces ratifying and confirming the said Article and all the matters and things therein Contained, and being respectively willing, covenanting and greeing that the same and every parte and clause thereof be duely and firmly held and observed bona fide, according to the nature and qualitie of contracts of [Princes] and Suvreaine States, without any manner of evasion or avoyd-
ance for want of any Solemnities. And renouncing on both sides all subtilties and niceties of Law, to the end the premises may have and take full effect according to the true meaning of the said article WE THE SAID LORD PROTECTOR for our parte, and We the said Lords the States Generall aforesaid for our parte have by one unanimous Consent nominated and appointed, and doe by these presents nominate and appoint Edward Winslow, James Russell, John Beex, William Vander Cruyssen to be Arbitrators Commissioners full and absolute Judges to receive, heare, examine, and by all due wayes and meanes to determine and give judgment upon all and singular the complaints and demannds of all and every the Merchants, Masters, Owners, and interessed in all or any Shippes, Vessells, Tackle, Apparell, furniture, provisions, wares, goods and other things whatsoever at any time arrested or detained within any of the Territories or Dominions of the King of Denmarke since the Eighteenth Day of May One Thousand Six Hundred fifty and Two, whereof mention is made in the Bills of the Merchants exhibited in March 1654 and pertaineing consigned or belonging to any of the People of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, or any of the Dominions thereto belonging, and WE THE SAID LORD PROTECTOR and alsoe We the said Lords the States Generall of the United Provinces doe joyntly and unanimously commit and by these presents give unto the said Edward Winslow, James Russell, John Beex, and William Vander Cruyssen full power and authoritie to convene and assemble together upon the Twentie seaventh day of June next ensuing old stile in the cittie of London in or at the Hall or Place in the said cittie called Goldsmith's Hall who being there assembled shall sweare and take a solemne oath before the Judges of the High Court of Admiraltie of England who are by the said Lord Protector authorised by these presents to administer the said oaths and required and enjoyned duely to attend at the said Goldsmith's Hall upon the said Twentie Seaventh day of June for the ministration of the said oaths accordingly. That they and everie

of them shall in their examining hearing and determining of the said premisses and matters by these presents to them committed renounced and sett aside all partialitie favor and affection in relation to either or any of the said States, or any particular interests, and proceede impartially to the searching out of the truth and summary determining and assessing of the rights interests and just dammages in all and everie the demannds aforesaid, and being sworne the said Edward Winslow, James Russell, John Beex, and William Vander Cruyssen shall forthwith enter upon and take cognisance of all such Complaints and Demannds as shall be on the behalf of any of the People of the said Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland &c. produced or offered touching any Shippes or Vessells whatsoever and all manner of Merchandize Consignements Goods or any other things seised, [imbarged] or detained as aforesaid. And also all and singular shall be produced on the other parte by way of defence, diminution or payment of the said demands. And shall either by Oath, or without Oath or by Instruments documents or any other Evidence whatsoever such as they shall find requisite and conduible to this purpose examine the truth of all and everie the said Complaints and Demannds, and the true and just value of all and singular such Shippes and Vessells, Tackle furniture freight Provisions Merchandize goods or other things and all and everie the Damgages sustained by the said seisesures and Detentions by losse of the said Shippes Vessells and freight thereof, and alsoe by the losse and damages of the said goods, Wares, Merchandize or otherwise respectively—And the said Edward Winslow, James Russell, John Beex and William Vander Cruyssen are hereby impowered enabled and authorized to ascertaine the said Premisses and everie of them and to liquidate assesse and tax the dammages for all and singular the said premisses, and to arbitrate and adjudge the same according as they shall hold just and meete and to pronounce and publish in writing under their Hands and Seales their finall judgment which said judgment pronounced and published shall be binding and obligatory to both parties without any further review appeale or reclamation of any partie whatsoever—And THE SAID LORDS THE STATES GENERALL by these presents binde and oblige themselves effectually and [really] to performe the same, and to pay such summe of moneyes as shall be soe adjudged and arbitrated to be paid for the said dammages and premisses within Twentie five days next immediately following after the publishing, of the said final judgment and arbitration and the said Edward Winslow, James Russell, John

Beex and William Vander Cruyssen are hereby authorised and required to convene and assemble at the said Goldsmith's Hall and procede upon the said [premisses de die] in diem without intermitting any day after their first meeting upon the Twentie Seaventh day of June (the Lord's dayes commonly called Sundayes only excepted) and to the end the said Edward Winslow, James Russell, John Beex and William Vander Cruyssen may not long procrastinate the said matters to them committed or breake off abruptly without coming to any certaine and final Judgment upon the said premisses It is ACCORDED AND CONCLUDED as well on the parte of the Lord Protector as the Lords the States Generall of the United Provinces, That if the said Edward Winslow, James Russell, John Beex and William Vander Cruyssen shall not agree and publish their finall judgment upon the premisses before the first day of August they shall be shutt upp in the said Goldsmith's Hall in a roome by themselves without fire, candle, meat drinke or other refreshment, untill they shall agree and publish in writing under their Hands and Seales their finall judgment and determination of and upon the premisses which said finall Judgment and determination soe to be made after their such shutting upp shall neverthesse be as firm [valide] and binding as if it had been made before their such shutting upp as aforesaid to all intents [constructions] and purposes— IN WITNESS of all and singular which are for the surer performance of the premisses, without any manner of

and cavillation the said Lord Protector and the said Lords the States Generall have agreed that Two partes of this Instrument word for word shall be made after the manner of an Indenture And that the said Lord Protector for the thereof for his parte shall cause the Greate Seale of England to be affixed unto the one parte thereof and the said Lords the States Generall of the United Provinces shall cause their Greate Seale to be affixed to the other; And accordingly Wee the said Lord Protector have signed the said one parte of this Instrument with our owne Hand, and have caused the Greate Seale of England to be affixed thereto, at Westminster, the nineteenth day of April in the yeare of our Lord one Thousand six Hundred fifty and ffoure.

[
OLIVER P.]

1656.—This year, it was ordered that card playing should be punished by a fine of fifty shillings. Servants or children, playing at cards, dice, or other unlawful games, for the first offence to be corrected, by their parents or master, and for the second, to be publicly whipped. A law was passed by which a magistrate, at his discretion, was authorized to inflict corporal punishment on all who denied the scriptures to be a rule of life. Vilifying any church or ordinance, was punished by a fine of ten shillings; profaning the Lord's day, by a fine of ten shillings, or a public whipping; and neglecting to attend public worship on each Lord's day, by a fine of ten shillings.

We have now to notice the lamented death of that hero of the Pilgrims, Capt. Miles Standish. He died at his residence in Duxbury, this year, at a very advanced age. Captain Standish was one of the companions of Carver, Bradford and Winslow, in the Mayflower, and shared in all the perils and privations to which they were subjected. He was one of the first settlers of Duxbury, but resided occasionally at Plymouth, especially in the winter months, and was the principal officer of the garrison at that place. In 1645, when war-like movements were commenced against the Narragansets, Standish commanded the Plymouth troops. In 1653, when hostilities with the Dutch at Manhattan were apprehended, a council of war was appointed in Plymouth colony, of which Standish was one. Warrants were issued for the impressment of 60 men, and Standish was appointed to command them. It thus appears that he continued active in military employments, on every necessary occasion, until within three years of his death. He was frequently one of the board of assistants. After the loss of his wife in 1620—1, he soon married again. In the assignment of lands in 1623, the name of Mrs. Standish is on the list; we know not the previous name of the lady, but it appears she came in the ship *Ann*. In 1627, when the cattle were divided, he stands at the head of the third lot, with his wife 'Barbara.' Charles, Alexander, and John, his children, are associated with him in that assignment. Alexander married Sarah Alden, daughter of John Alden. Dr. Belknap informs us that Dr. Wheelock, President of Dartmouth College, and the father of Dr. Kirkland, President of Harvard College, are descended from him. In the cabinet of the Pilgrim Society is the identical sword blade* used by Capt. Standish, the hilt being of more modern date, and also his iron pot, and pewter dish.

* This relic is substantiated by unquestionable authority.

The Rev. T. Alden, Jr. in his collection of Epitaphs, gives an amusing traditionary anecdote relative to the connubial pursuits of Capt. Standish, and his friend John Alden. This anecdote will be found entire under the name of John Alden, further on. In 1625, Captain Standish was sent an agent for the company to England. The plague was then raging in London, and he met with difficulty in accomplishing his business; but, the next year, he returned with goods for the colony, and brought the melancholy news, that Rev. Mr. John Robinson and Mr. Cushman were numbered with the dead. Capt. Standish was constantly elected one of the principal officers of the growing Commonwealth, and was one of the magistrates of the colony. When, in 1652, a council of war was appointed, vested with full power 'to issue warrants to press men and give commissions to chief officers,' the venerable Standish was one of the number. In 1654, Cromwell called on New-England for troops to subdue the Dutch of New-York, and Capt. Standish received the command of those raised in Plymouth colony. A part of his commission was in these words: 'We having raised some forces, over which we do constitute our well beloved friend, Capt. Miles Standish, their leader and *commander in chief*; whose fidelity and ability we have long experienced.' He was a brave and enterprising man, whose perseverance was equal to the performance of the boldest resolutions, which the mind can frame. It will appear, by the preceding pages, that on several occasions he was, through his great intrepidity, the deliverer of the people from the death, which the Indians threatened and were ready to execute. To the best interest of the colony he continued firm and steadfast to the last, and always managed his trust with great integrity and faithfulness. It is supposed, that he was buried at Duxbury, but the place of his grave is unknown. His house was consumed by fire sometime after his death, the exact time of which is uncertain. There are, in Plympton numerous descendants of Miles Standish. In his will, dated March 7th, 1655, he calls his son Alexander his eldest son, and names his sons in the following order, Alexander, Miles, Josiah, Charles. He mentions his wife Barbara, and his daughter Lora. He gives his son Alexander his right to lands in England. It is possible that his sons Charles and John, mentioned in Judge Davis's edition of the memorial, might have died young, as they are not mentioned in the will.

Dr. Belknap gives us many respectable names of the honorable house from which Miles Standish descended, beginning with Henry Standish, D. D., Bishop of St. Asaph, in the reign of Henry VIII. In the account of Duxbury, (*Historical Col-*

lections, vol. ii.) the name of the town is supposed to have been assumed by its first settlers, in allusion to their captain or leader. This appears questionable. The compliment would have been merited, but it is doubtful whether, among such a people, it would have been proposed or admitted. In '*Ancient Vestiges*,' the manuscript in the note, p. 226 (*Memorial*) there is this remark; 'So late as 1707, I find that Sir Thomas Standish lived at *Duxbury*, the name of the family seat in Lancashire.'

Captain Standish, it is said, was of small stature, but of a fiery temper, and perhaps no man ever possessed a more daring and intrepid spirit. The hill so conspicuous in the southeast part of the town of Duxbury, is called Captain's Hill or Mount, as it makes a part of the farm which was Captain Standish's.

1657.—On the 9th of March, William Bradford, governor of the colony, was called to join the congregation of the dead, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. This bereavement was peculiarly afflictive to the pilgrims, for he was one who shared largely in their perils, griefs, and toils, and was revered as the prop and glory of the colony. He was born in England, in 1588. Both his parents dying while he was in early youth, he was left to the protection of his grand-parents, and, after them, his uncles. His patrimony was large, but his station in life was amongst the yeomanry, and he was bred to agriculture. The early loss of his parents probably gave a serious cast to his mind, and he devoted all his leisure time to the reading of the scriptures; and, notwithstanding the opposition and angry remonstrances of all his relations, this experienced youth embraced the doctrines, which were taught by the venerable Clifton, and afterwards by Robinson and became one of their most devoted followers. He was a zealous advocate for the removal of the company to America, and was a passenger in the *Mayflower*. On their arrival at Cape Cod harbor, his wife unfortunately fell overboard, and was drowned in his absence. On the death of governor Carver, although only thirty-two years old, and confined at the time by sickness, he was unanimously elected his successor, as governor of the colony. He conducted the affairs of the colony, for the great part of the time, as chief, and two or three years as second magistrate, with consummate prudence and ability, for a period of more than thirty-one years. 'In the transactions with the Indians, he was strictly just; and after those unavoidable sparkings, which the neighborhood of two races of men, like the collision of flint and steel, are sure to strike out at first, the animosities, which vicinage engendered, were allayed, and he preserved the relations of peace unbroken. His mingled system of mildness and energy conciliated their affections, and extorted

their respect. When necessary, he alarmed their fears. When the emblematic defiance of the Sachem of the Narragansetts was conveyed in the shape of a bundle of arrows, bound together by the skin of a serpent, he answered it promptly, by sending back the skin filled with powder and bullets. — (See page 45 of this vol.) He soon understood all the peculiarities of their simple characters. His sagacity in detecting, and his energy in overcoming the designs of the factionists, were on every occasion most happily displayed. He was, at an early period, aware of the danger of supplying the Indians with fire-arms, and warned his countrymen against putting such formidable instruments into their hands. "The natives," he observed, "were all provided with muskets, powder and shot, and were so well skilled in their use as even to keep the English in awe, and give the law to them when they pleased. They have flints, screw plates and moulds for shot, and can mend and new stock their pieces almost as well as Englishmen. Thus like madmen, we put them in the way to kill us with our own weapons. They know their advantage so well, they scruple not to say that they can, when they please, drive the English away, or kill them." It is to be observed, that the natives were supplied with arms and ammunition chiefly by the people of Massachusetts colony. Although governor Bradford's early pursuits were unfavorable to the cultivation of learning, yet he applied himself with great diligence to the study of the ancient languages, both Greek and Latin. Of the Hebrew his knowledge was intimate, and the French and Dutch he spoke with ease. He read much on subjects of history and philosophy. In theology he was deeply versed, and few there were, who could contend with him successfully in a polemical dispute. He wrote considerably; the loss of his valuable manuscript history of the colony to 1646 can never be supplied. As chief magistrate, he was compelled to deal with many turbulent spirits, yet he seldom failed to enforce respect both to the laws and the magistrates, rather by appealing to the sense of shame and fear of self-degradation, than by the exercise of the penal authority of the government. His faith endured to the last, and he died full of hope; conversing with his friends on the day of his death, he spoke with the cheerfulness of a saint. "God," said he, "has given me a pledge of my happiness in another world, and the first fruits of eternal glory." 'Governor Bradford,' says Dr. Cotton Mather, 'died lamented by all the colonists of New England, as a common father of them all.' On the 14th August, 1624, governor Bradford was married to Mrs. Alice Southworth, a lady of extraordinary capacity and worth. There was an early attachment, it is said,

between governor Bradford and Mrs. Southworth, and their marriage was prevented by her parents on account of the inferior circumstances or rank of Mr. Bradford. Being now a widower, he by letters to England made overtures of marriage to Mrs. Southworth, who was then a widow. The proposal was accepted, and with a generous resolution she embarked in the ship *Ann*, in 1623, to meet her intended partner, who, she well knew, could not leave his responsible station in the infant settlement. Her two sons, Thomas and Constant Southworth, came over with her. This lady was well educated and brought considerable property into the country. She died in 1670, aged 80 years, and was honorably interred on the 29th March, at New Plymouth. It is said in the old colony records, 'She was a godly matron, and much loved while she lived, and lamented, though aged, when she died.' Mrs. Bradford was highly eulogized by Elder Faunce, for her exertions in promoting the literary improvement and the deportment of the rising generation, according to accounts he had received from some of her contemporaries. Governor Bradford was without doubt interred on our burial hill, but the antiquarian, who visits the place, must be impressed with melancholy regret, that the remains of one so eminently meritorious as was this excellent man, should be suffered to moulder in the dust without a monumental stone to designate the spot. There is at each of the graves of the two sons, an ordinary stone, but the grave of the illustrious sire is level with the earth, and known only by tradition. Even at this remote period, it would be honorable and a blessing to posterity, could a suitable monument be erected, that future inquiring antiquarians might know where to resort to lean over the remains and meditate on the virtues and glorious deeds, of one of the principal founders of our nation. Greatly should we rejoice to see the venerated name, which has, for two centuries, been veiled in temporary oblivion, brought forth to immortal memory by a grateful posterity. We have little doubt but this desirable object might be effected, were a subscription to be put in circulation for that purpose. The family bible of governor Bradford is still in existence. It is in the possession of Mr. Asa Waters, of Stoughton, who exhibited it in this town, in October, 1831. The bible was printed in the year 1592, and contains a written list of the names of the family of Elisha Bradford, who was the grand-son of Governor William Bradford. That this ancient and honorable family may be traced in all its branches to the present generation, the following genealogical detail is here recorded. Governor Bradford married, for his first wife, Dorothy May, by whom he had one son, whose name was John, but there is no

account that he was ever married, or with certainty when he died. There is a tradition that he was lost at sea, on his passage to England. The maiden name of the governor's second wife, Mrs. Southworth, was Alice Carpenter, by whom he had three children, William, Mercy, and Joseph. Mercy married Benjamin Vermage, mentioned in the appendix to governor Winthrop's History, vol. ii. p. 372. William Bradford, son of the governor, obtained high distinction in the colony, being elected an assistant soon after the decease of his father, and chief military commander. He had the title of major, and was an active officer in Philip's war. He married for his first wife Alice Richards, who died in 1671, aged 44, by whom he had four sons, John, William, Thomas, and Samuel. Thomas moved to Connecticut, Samuel settled at Duxbury, from whom the Bradfords in that place descended. William Bradford's second wife was the widow Wiswell, by whom he had one son, Joseph, who moved to Connecticut. His third wife was Mrs. Mary Holmes, widow of the Rev. John Holmes, the second minister of Duxbury, by whom he had four sons, Israel, Ephraim, David, and Hezekiah. She died in 1704. When the colonial Government terminated in 1692, Major Bradford was deputy governor, and afterwards was chosen counsellor of Massachusetts. He died February 20th, 1703, aged 79 years. In his will dated Jan. 29th, 1703, he provides for nine sons and six daughters, by which it appears that he had fifteen children, a noble bequest to the new territory. The late aged Ebenezer Cobb,* of Kingston, remembered the funeral of deputy governor Bradford. The public road being obstructed by a deep snow, the corpse was brought from the family residence near Jones's river along the sea-shore, it being the express desire of the deceased to be buried near the body of his father. His tombstone indicates the spot where the governor was probably interred: the father lying on the east side of the son, while the other son Joseph, lies in another row northerly. John, the eldest son of the deputy governor, is frequently mentioned in the Plymouth records as selectman and on various committees; and in 1692, he was deputy, or representative from Plymouth to the general court. The governor's son Joseph, lived near Jones's river, had a son named Elisha,

* Mr. Ebenezer Cobb was a native of Plymouth, but for many years a resident of Kingston, where he died December 8, 1801, aged 107 years, eight months, and six days. He was remarkable for facetiousness of disposition, and for a retentive memory. He well remembered that, when a boy, he had a personal knowledge of Peregrine White.

who had several children. He died July 10th, 1715, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and was buried at the Burial-hill at Plymouth. Major John Bradford, son of Major William, married Mercy Warren, daughter of Joseph Warren. Their children were John, Alice, Abigail, Mercy, Samuel, Priscilla, and William. He died December 8th, 1736, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Mercy, his widow, died 1747, in her ninety-fourth year. Lieut. Samuel Bradford, son of the aforesaid Major John Bradford, married Sarah Gray, daughter of Edward Gray, of Tiverton, Rhode Island, and grand-daughter of Edward Gray of Plymouth. Their issue were John, Gideon, William, who died young, Mary, Sarah, William, Mercy, who died young, Abigail, Phebe, and Samuel. The aforesaid Lieut. Samuel Bradford, lived and died in Plympton, 1740, aged fifty-six years. His widow married William Hunt, of Martha's Vineyard, and died in 1770. The Hon. William Bradford, late of Bristol, Rhode Island, was a son of the above Samuel Bradford. He was born at Plympton, Nov. 4th, 1729, and died in July, 1808. He was deputy governor of Rhode Island, speaker of the house of representatives, and a member of congress. His residence was near the celebrated Mount Hope, and the story of King Philip, the aboriginal proprietor, was familiar to his mind. His descendants are numerous. Gideon Bradford, son of the above Lieut. Samuel Bradford, married Jane Paddock, and had issue, Levi, Joseph, Sarah, Samuel, Gideon, Calvin, and Jenney. He died in Plympton, 1793, in his seventy-fifth year. Levi, son of the above Gideon, married Elizabeth Lewis. Their children were Lewis, Joseph, Levi, Daniel, Ezra, Elizabeth, and Sarah. He died in Homer, N. Y. 1812, aged seventy-nine years.

Colonel Gamaliel Bradford descended from the first Samuel. He lived at Duxbury, and commanded a regiment of continental troops during the revolutionary war. His son Gamaliel, entered the American army when a youth, and was an officer at the close of the war. He possessed a patriotic spirit and a noble mind, and was distinguished in various pursuits in private life. Another son of Gamaliel is the present Alden Bradford, for several years secretary of our commonwealth, and the author of a valuable history of Massachusetts, and the president of the Pilgrim Society.

The first notice of horses on record is in 1644, when a mare, belonging to the estate of Stephen Hopkins, was appraised at £6 sterling. In 1647, in the inventory of Thomas Bliss, a colt was appraised at £4 sterling. In Joseph Holliway's inventory, *the same year*, one mare and a year old colt were appraised at

£14. In June, 1657, the colony court passed an act that every free-holder who kept three mares, and would keep one horse for military service, should be freed from all military service, training and watching. While destitute of horses it was not uncommon for people to ride on bulls; and there is a tradition, that when John Alden went to Cape Cod to be married to Priscilla Mullens, he covered his bull with a handsome piece of broad-cloth, and rode on his back. On his return, he seated his bride on the bull, and led the uncouth animal by a rope fixed in the nose ring. This sample of primitive gallantry would ill compare with that of Abraham's servant, when, by proxy, he gal-lanted Rebekah on her journey, with a splendid retinue of damsels and servants seated on camels, Isaac going out to meet her. (Gen. ch. 24.) Had the servant employed bulls, instead of camels, it may be doubted whether Rebekah would have been quite so prompt in accepting his proposals. As soon as the question was put, Rebekah said "I will go."

In 1665 the colony court made a present of a horse to King Philip. It would gratify curiosity to know in what manner King Philip, and the natives, in general, were affected by the first sight of horses and cows; their minds must have been overwhelmed with astonishment to see men riding on horses and bulls.

Trouble with the Quakers. This year was rendered memorable by an unhappy commotion and personal collision with a new sect of religionists, styled Quakers. This controversy would seem to have been engendered by a spirit of fanaticism, approaching to frenzy, on one part, and of pious zeal, allied to bigotry, on the other. Our puritan fathers, having experienced the bitterness of intolerance and persecution from tyrants, were willing that a measure of the same spirit should be construed into the rights of conscience, and become a duty when exercised by themselves. That confiding temper in the purity of their own sentiments, and religious ardor for the glory of God, could not brook the smallest deviation from the course, which they deemed strictly orthodox; and their jealous apprehensions of heresy led them, on some occasions, to acts inconsistent with their professed principles of Christian liberty and charity. But palliating circumstances in the case must not be overlooked. In their religious and local concerns, the puritans, about this period, were reduced to a deplorable condition. Not a few of their society had manifested a coolness and indifference to the stated preaching of the gospel by qualified clergymen, preferring to exercise their own personal gifts. An alarming defect of reverence and support of ministers was spreading through other towns in the colony, and schisms in churches were not

unfrequent. No less than five distinguished ministers in the colony were obliged to separate from their societies for the want of support, and two others died, and all their places remained unsupplied about the same time. Three other parishes were also destitute. It was at this critical juncture that the vexatious intrusion of the quakers occurred, to their great annoyance. Not only were their tenets at first deemed exceedingly obnoxious, and even blasphemous, but the demeanor of some individuals of the sect was audacious and provoking beyond endurance.—‘When the quakers appeared in New England,’ says Hon. Mr. Baylies, ‘it was during their first effervescence; the materials were still fermenting, and had not as yet worked off the scum and the dregs, which all new religious sects are sure to bring up.’

It was ordered by the court, that in case any shall bring in any quaker, ranter, or other notorious heretic, either by land or water, into any part of this government, he shall forthwith, upon order of any one magistrate, return them to the place from whence they came, or clear the government of them, on the penalty of paying a fine of 20s, for every week that they shall stay in the government, after warning. A more severe law was afterwards passed. ‘It is therefore enacted by the court and authority thereof, that no quaker, or person commonly so called be entertained by any person or persons within this government, under penalty of £5 for every such default or be whipt.’

On the 6th of October, 1657, Humphrey Norton, claiming to be a prophet, was summoned to appear at the court, and on examination found guilty (according to the court record) of divers horrid errors. He was sentenced speedily to depart the government, and the under-marshal was required to take him into custody, and to conduct him to Assonet, near Rhode Island. ‘The spirit of Norton was not subdued, and he returned again into the Plymouth jurisdiction, accompanied by one John Rouse. These quakers appeared at the court in June, 1658, and were apprehended and committed to prison. When they were examined before the court, Norton said sundry times to the governor, ‘Prince, thou lyest; Thomas, thou art a malicious man.’ The conduct of Rouse was equally turbulent. They were remanded, but in a short time were again brought before the court. Norton again abused the governor with much foul language, saying, ‘Thy clamorous tongue I regard no more than the dust under my feet; and thou art like a scolding woman, and thou pratest and deridest me,’ &c.

Norton and Rouse were severally required, that, as they pro-

fessed themselves to be subjects to the state of England, they should take an oath of fidelity to be true to that state, which they refused to do, saying they would take no oath at all. On this refusal they were sentenced to a whipping. This punishment was inflicted, for which the under-marshal required a fee. They refused to pay, and were again committed to prison, where they remained until they compromised with the marshal, and left the jurisdiction.*

Norton afterwards addressed the governor by letter in such language as, 'Thomas Prince, thou hast bent thy heart to work wickedness, and with thy tongue hast set forth deceit; thou imaginest mischief upon thy bed, and hatchest thy hatred in thy secret chamber; the strength of darkness is over thee, and a malicious mouth hast thou opened against God and his anointed, and with thy tongue and lips hast thou uttered perverse things; thou hast slandered the innocent, by railing, lying, and false accusations, and with thy barbarous heart hast thou caused their blood to be shed,' &c. &c.—'John Alden is to thee like unto a pack-horse, where upon thou layest thy beastly bag; cursed are all they that have a hand therein; the cry of vengeance will pursue thee day and night.' After continuing in this strain at great length he closes thus, 'The anguish and pain that will enter thy veins will be like gnawing worms lodging betwixt thy heart and liver. When these things come upon thee, and thy back is bowed down with pain, in that day and hour thou shalt know to thy grief that prophets of the Lord God we are, and the God of vengeance is our God.' Norton addressed a letter to John Alden, one of the assistants and a member of the court, couched in language equally abusive as the above.

If the primitive government of Plymouth rendered itself censurable for the rigor of its laws, and the cruelty of the punishments inflicted on the quakers, their posterity have the consoling reflection, that among the honorable society of quakers at the present day, no one can be found that would give countenance to such outrageous conduct as that of Norton and Rouse; so on the other hand, may we safely vouch, that none among the descendants of the puritan fathers will pretend to find a justification of the harsh measures prosecuted against them. Most happy is the day, when these opposing sects are harmoniously united in christian charity, and brotherly love; the quakers distinguished for benevolence, purity of morals, and peaceful demeanor, their friends for erudition, liberality of sentiment,

**In our times we should think public whipping to be a sufficient punishment, without obliging the culprit to pay the whipper's fee.*

christian knowledge and philanthropy. But the reader has not yet learnt the whole history of the quaker controversy.

Several other disfranchising laws were passed by the Plymouth general court against these people. On the 8th of May, 1659, five men and one woman were sentenced, according to a previous order of court, to banishment, to depart out of the jurisdiction by the 8th day of June, on pain of death; delaying, they were to be imprisoned, tried, and if found guilty of the breach of this law, were to be put to death. The following judicious observations are cited from Hon. F. Baylies, vol. ii. p. 38. 'The quakers who first appeared in the colony of Plymouth were not inhabitants, but came from abroad. Although they professed the principles of peace and benevolence, yet they waged a furious war against a religion which was much endeared to the people whom they were endeavoring to proselyte; for which that people had suffered much, and were impressed with a strong conviction of its truth.'

Their laws, their government, their forms of worship, all which they had been taught to venerate, and accustomed to love, were denounced in no very civil terms by strangers. Their magistrates and ministers were reviled in terms of insolent abuse; it is not surprising, therefore, that they should have attempted to check (what appeared to them to be) blasphemy and impiety. Although these new expounders of scripture styled themselves 'the prophets of God,' yet it was not an unnatural or strange belief, in that day, that they should have been regarded as men 'possessed with demons.' 'To check their disorders, banishment was deemed the mildest punishment. Norton was sent beyond the settlements, but on the next year he returned, in defiance of the government. It is not unlikely that the deportment of governor Prince to Norton was domineering and arrogant, for he detested schismatics, and hated those who despised and derided 'human learning.' Yet one far more indulgent than the governor, in the same station, must have been possessed of uncommon self-command, if he could have tolerated personal insults, and tamely have suffered himself to have been called a 'liar' and 'a malicious man,' while in the very exercise of his high authority on the judgment seat, and presiding in the court. Even in these times, under the system of toleration, and with a mitigated penal code, 'contempt of court' is deemed a high offence, and is punished accordingly. Still it is best that the hand of power should fall gently on all those who *pretend* (even if it be nothing but pretence,) to act under the *impulse of religious feeling*. The errors of honest and sincere *zealots* are to be excused, not punished, unless the order and

peace of society are disturbed to such a degree, that the restraint of the offender becomes an act of necessity.'

During this high excitement in the colony, and the still greater in that of Massachusetts, Mr. Cudworth, Mr. Allerton, and some others, appeared in opposition to the measures pursued against the quakers, in consequence of which they became so unpopular that they were left out of their offices of magistrate.* At length, the court were disposed to try the effect of a more conciliatory treatment. For the purpose of bringing the quakers to a sense of their mistakes, the laws were so far relaxed as to permit certain persons to attend their meetings, 'to endeavor to reduce them from the error of their ways;' this permission was given to Isaac Robinson, the son of the celebrated Leyden pastor, and three others. 'But,' says Mr. Baylies, 'the government were not aware of their danger. The fanaticism of a new sect is always an overmatch for that which has been cooled and tempered by time.' Isaac Robinson, an excellent and sensible man, who had received the permission of the court to attend these meetings, instead of convincing the quakers of their errors, became self-convicted, and embraced many of their doctrines, and consequently rendered himself so obnoxious, that he was dismissed from civil employment, and exposed to much censure and some indignity.

In 1660, the alarm not having entirely subsided, the court of Plymouth were induced to pass additional laws to stem the torrent of quakerism. All persons were now authorized to apprehend such quakers, and to deliver them to the constables, that they might be carried before the governor or some magistrate. And to prevent their speedy passage from place to place, to 'poison the inhabitants with their cursed tenets,' all persons were prohibited from supplying them with horses, on pain of forfeiture, and their own horses were also made liable to forfeiture.

It was also enacted, that any one who shall bring in any quaker or ranter, by land or water, into this government, viz., by being a guide to them or any otherwise, shall be fined, to the use of the government, the sum of £10 for every default. 'If the quakers or such like vagabonds, shall come into any town of this government, the marshal or constable shall apprehend him

* Captain Cudworth was tried for being a manifest opposer of the laws of the government, and sentenced accordingly, to be disfranchised of the freedom of the commonwealth, and deprived of his military command; to which he submitted with dignified magnanimity.

or them, and upon examination so appearing, he shall whip them, or cause them to be whipped with rods, so it exceed not fifteen stripes. It was also enacted that all persons permitting the quakers to hold meetings in their houses, on conviction before the general court, should be publicly whipped, or pay £5.'

But I am exceeding my intended limits on this theme; and however interesting may be the sequel, I shall only add that 'in a few years there appeared a revolution in the popular feeling, and Mr. Cudworth, Mr. Brown, and Isaac Robinson were restored to favor,' under the administration of Governor Josiah Winslow.

The tragedy at Boston produced a deep sympathy for the sufferers, and when it was seen that the quakers could die for their faith, the people could not resist the belief that they were sincere.*

"The book of the General Laws and liberties of the inhabitants of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, out of the records of the General Court, was lately revised and established and disposed into alphabetical order, and published by the authority of the General Court held at New Plymouth the 29th day of September Anno Domini 1658." It was enacted 1658, that all opposers of the laws of the colony, or who shall speak contemptuously of the laws, or of the true worship of God, or such as are judged by the court grossly scandalous, as liars, drunkards, &c., shall lose the freedom of this corporation.

It was, in the same year, enacted, 'that as in many towns the number of freemen was less than the number of inhabitants,

* In July, 1656, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, both of the denomination of quakers, arrived at Boston from Barbadoes, and about a month afterwards eight more came into that colony from Rhode Island.

The first quakers who appeared in New England, arrived in July. The general court of Massachusetts considered them alike hostile to civil and to ecclesiastical order, and passed sentence of banishment on twelve persons of that sect, the whole number then in the colony. The most sanguinary laws were passed against the sect by the Massachusetts general court, which may be found in Hutchinson, Hubbard, and Hazard. In 1659, two men and one woman were tried before the general court of Massachusetts, and sentenced to die. The two men were executed, and the woman, Mary Dyer, was reprieved, on condition of her departure from the jurisdiction in forty-eight hours; and if she returned, to suffer the sentence. She was carried, however, to the gallows; and stood with a rope about her neck until the others were executed. This infatuated woman returned, and was executed in 1660. Many of these deluded people actually courted persecution.

and as all had an equal right to vote, it may come to pass that very unfit and unworthy persons may be chosen that cannot answer the court's trust in such a place; that as all such as magistrates and deputies, are to act in making of laws, and being assembled, the court in the first place take notice of their members, and if they find any unfit for such a trust, that they and the reason thereof be returned to the town from whence they were sent, that they make such choice of more fit and able persons to send in their stead as the time will permit.' This assumed right of expulsion of members would at the present day be deemed arbitrary, and meet the most decided opposition.

The public officers were to be paid in corn for their services, and all corn delivered in to pay the current expenses of the country to bear one price.

August 21st, 1658.—Died William Paddy, aged 58 years.

Mr. Paddy for several years was elected deputy to the general court of Plymouth, and was also a deacon of the church, and possessed considerable wealth. He sustained an irreproachable character, was devoted to the best interests of the colony, and was useful in both church and state. He removed to Boston in 1651. He had two sons born in Plymouth, Thomas and Samuel, but the name appears to be now extinct.*

It was this year ordered that whosoever profaned the Lord's day by travelling, carrying burdens, &c. should be fined twenty shillings, or set in the stocks four hours.

M. B. having been sentenced for telling a lie, the court having examined particulars, have cleared her, but desired Mr. Hatherly, from the court to admonish her to be wary of giving offence to others by unnecessary talking. J. W. to be sharply reproved for writing a note on common business on Lord's day. E. H. for telling a lie, and R. J. for neglecting public worship, fined ten shillings each.

The court appointed Josiah Winslow and Constant Southworth, with the treasurer, to agree with workmen to erect a house of correction, to be added to the prison, fourteen feet in length, with a chimney to it.

1660.—The council of war ordered, that during any appear-

* A singular incident occurred at Boston, in the summer of 1830. Some workmen employed in removing the earth from the north side of the Old State House, dug up a tombstone, considerably broken, on one side of which was the following inscription:

'Here lyeth the body of Mr. William Paddy. Departed this life August 1658.' From the records it appears that he was one of the selectmen of Boston at the time of his death.

ance of danger, a military watch be kept in each town in the most convenient places for giving an alarm, and also to watch the sea coast and observe the motions of any ships that may appear. The firing of three muskets shall make an alarm in the night, and fires to be made where the alarm is given. The Dutch and French were to be considered as common enemies. The following instance of marriage may perhaps be ascribed to quaker influence. R. W. and M. C.* for marrying disorderly, and without parent's consent, were sentenced to pay £10 fine, and be imprisoned during pleasure of court; and being desirous of being orderly married, were accordingly, this 9th of March, 1660. E. M. for accompanying and countenancing the above mentioned persons, fined twenty shillings. R. B. summoned to appear to answer for speaking contemptuously of singing psalms, and was convicted of the fact, and promised that he would be warned of so doing for the future. The court sharply admonished him, and that he should acknowledge his fault, which he engaged to do, and was discharged.

1661.—At the court which assembled in June, a loyal declaration was made in favor of King Charles II. who had been restored to the throne of his ancestors.

R. Smith for lying concerning seeing a whale and other things, fined twenty shillings. A. Bessey for her cruel and unnatural practice towards her father-in law, G. Barlow, in chopping of him in the back, fined twenty shillings, or to be whipped.

D. B. and M. B. for the like towards their father-in-law, not in so high degree, both sentenced to sit in the stocks during the pleasure of court, which was performed.

The colony during this year sold, for £400 sterling, their lands on Kennebec river, to Antipas Boyes, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle, and John Winslow, and they originated the celebrated Plymouth company.

£60 was assessed for purchasing a place for the minister at Plymouth.

1662.—S. H. for carrying a grist of corn from mill on Sunday, fined 20 shillings, or to be whipped.

W. F. for suffering him to take it from the mill, fined 10 shillings.

William Randall for telling a lie, fined 10 shillings.

Clark's island was now abandoned, and not improved by any one.

Town expenses, £25. 5s. 3d. Ten pounds was assessed to procure bellows and tools for a smith, for the use of the town.

Philip, sachem of Pokanoket, made his appearance at the court of Plymouth, and solicited the continuance of the amity

and friendship which had existed between the government of Plymouth and his father (Massasoit) and brother. To that end he desired, for himself and his successors, that they might forever, remain subject to the King of England, his heirs and successors; and promised that he and his would truly and exactly observe and keep inviolate such conditions as had formerly been made by his predecessors; and particularly that he would not, at any time, needlessly or unjustly provoke or raise war with any of the natives; nor give, sell, or dispose of any lands to strangers, or to any others without their privity or appointment; but would in all things endeavor to live peaceably and inoffensively towards the English. The court expressed their willingness to continue the friendship; and promised to afford the Indians such friendly assistance by advice and otherwise, as they justly might, and to require their own people at all times to maintain a friendly conduct toward them. The original name of Philip was Matacomet. Mather says, 'it was at this time that he desired an English name, and that the court named him Philip.' Judge Davis says, 'After the death of Massasoit, about the year 1656, his two sons, Wamsutta and Metacomet, came to the court at Plymouth, and professing great respect, requested that English names might be given them. Wamsutta, the eldest brother, was thereupon named Alexander; the youngest, Metacomet was called Philip.'—*Note on Morton*. The agreement in court was soon after the death of Alexander.—*Holmes's An.**

1663.—Mr. John Brown, who had frequently been an assistant in the government, having been elected in 1636, and continued by successive elections to 1656, died this year at his residence in Rehoboth. He was also one of the commissioners of the United Colonies from 1644 to 1655. James Brown, who was chosen an assistant in 1665, and lived at Swansey, was his son.

'We find the same remark made respecting Mr. Brown as of Mr. Winslow and Captain Standish, that, while on their travels, they became casually acquainted with the refugees at Leyden, and were so attached to them, on acquaintance, as to unite themselves to their society. A connexion, thus formed and continued through so many difficulties, is alike honorable to all parties; we are led to infer, that there was something prepossessing in the deportment of the pilgrims, interesting and congenial to generous minds.'

* Some very interesting particulars respecting the subsequent conduct of these two Indians, and the origin of the memorable contest, denominated *Philip's war*, may be found in Judge Davis's note in the *Memorial*, p. 287, and also in the appendix to this volume.

Jan. 26.—There was a tremendous earthquake in the northern parts of America. It was felt throughout New England.—*See Judge Davis's note on Morton, p. 289, 294.*

This year the ministerial house was built in Plymouth, and £60 voted to finish it. Half the payment in tar and corn; the tar to be twelve pence in the barrel cheaper than at Boston; the other half in wheat, barley, peas, butter, or money. This parsonage house was erected on the north side of First street, (Leyden street) just below the present precinct house, but not on the same lot. The house, erected in 1832, by Mr. James Bartlett, Jr., and that on the west side of it, now occupy the place. The lot on which stands the present precinct mansion house, was given to the First Church of Christ in Plymouth, by Bridget Fuller and Samuel Fuller, the worthy widow and son of Dr. Samuel Fuller.

1664.—In 1664, king Charles II. issued a commission empowering Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, Esquires, ‘to hear and determine complaints and appeals in all cases, as well military as criminal and civil,’ within New England, and to proceed in all things for settling the peace and security of the country. His majesty caused letters to be addressed to the government of New Plymouth, in which are many expressions of royal grace and favor, promising to preserve all their liberties and privileges, both ecclesiastical and civil, without the least violation; and enjoining loyalty, affection and obedience on the part of his New-England subjects.

Thomas Willet was chosen to confer with the commissioners in behalf of the Plymouth colony, making respectful professions of fidelity and allegiance.

1665.—The following are the propositions made by his majesty's commissioners to the general court of New Plymouth, held at Plymouth, for the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, the twenty-second of February, Ann. Dom. 1665.

1. That all householders inhabiting in the colony take the oath of allegiance; and the administration of justice be in his majesty's name.

2. That all men of competent estates and civil conversation, though of different judgments, may be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose and be chosen officers, both civil and military.

3. That all men and women of orthodox opinions, competent knowledge, and civil lives, (not scandalous,) may be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and their children to baptism, if they desire it: either by admitting them into the congregations already gathered, or permitting them to gather

themselves into such congregations, where they may have the benefit of the sacrament.

4. That all laws and expressions in laws, derogatory to his majesty, if any such have been made in these late troublesome times, may be repealed, altered, or taken off from the file.

The Court's Answer. 1. To the first we consent, it having been the practice of this court, in the first place, to insert in the oath of fidelity required of every householder, to be truly loyal to our sovereign lord, the king, his heirs, and successors. Also, to administer all acts of justice in his majesty's name.

2. To the second we also consent, it having been our constant practice to admit men of competent estates and civil conversation, though of different judgments, yet being otherwise orthodox, to be freemen, and to have liberty, to choose and be chosen officers, both civil and military.

3. To the third we cannot, but acknowledge it to be a high favor from God and from our sovereign that we may enjoy our conscience in point of God's worship, (the main end of transplanting ourselves into these remote corners of the earth,) and should most heartily rejoice, that all our neighbors, so qualified as in that proposition, would adjoin themselves to our societies, according to the order of the gospel, for enjoyment of the sacraments to themselves and theirs; but if, through different persuasions respecting church government, it cannot be obtained, we would not deny a liberty to any, according to the proposition, that are truly conscientious, although differing from us, especially where his majesty commands it, they maintaining an able preaching ministry for the carrying on of public sabbath worship, which, we doubt not, is his majesty's intent, and withdraw not from paying their due proportion of maintenance to such ministers as are orderly settled in the places where they live, until they have one of their own, and that in such places as are capable of maintaining the worship of God in two distinct congregations. We being greatly encouraged by his majesty's gracious expressions in his letter to us, and your honor's further assurance of his Royal purpose, to continue our liberties, that where places, by reason of our paucity and poverty, are incapable of two, it is not intended that such congregations as are already in being should be rooted out, but their liberties preserved, there being other places to accommodate men of different persuasions in societies by themselves, which, by our known experience, tends most to the preservation of peace and charity.

4. To the fourth we consent that all laws and expressions in laws derogatory to his majesty, if any such shall be formed

amongst us, which at present we are not conscious of, shall be repealed, altered, and taken off from the file.

By order of the general court for the }
jurisdiction of New Plymouth. }

Per me,

NATHANIEL MORTON,
Secretary.

The conditions expressed in the answer to the third proposition appeared so reasonable to the commissioners, that when they afterwards met the general assembly of Connecticut, in April, 1665, their third proposition is qualified in substance, conformably to the Plymouth reply.—*Judge Davis's Ed. Mem.*

So favorable was the report of the Royal commissioners respecting the affairs and proceedings of the Plymouth colony, that in 1666 his majesty addressed a second letter to that government, in which the Royal approbation and praise are expressed in exalted terms, presuming that the fidelity and affection for their sovereign are 'rooted in their hearts.' 'Although,' says the letter, 'your carriage of itself must justly deserve our praise and approbation, yet it seems to be set off with more lustre by the contrary deportment of the colony of Massachusetts, as if by their refractoriness they had designed to recommend and heighten the merit of your compliance with our directions for the peaceable and good government of our subjects in those parts. You may, therefore, assure yourselves, that we shall never be unmindful of this your loyal and dutiful behavior, but shall upon all occasions take notice of it to your advantage, promising you our constant protection and royal favor in all things that may concern your safety, peace, and welfare. And so we bid you farewell.'

At the general court of magistrates and deputies assembled at Plymouth in October, 1665, it was deemed indispensably necessary that Governor Prince should remove his residence from Eastham to Plymouth, for the more convenient administration of justice, and he having complied with the requisition, the court therefore ordered that his salary should be £50 per annum. And as he resided in a place which had been purchased by the colony 'for that end,' it was further ordered, in case of his decease, his family should be permitted to remain in the place for a year; or if he should not be re-elected, he should be at liberty to remain in the government house a year.

With respect to the assistants, it was enacted that the old magistrates should be allowed £20 per annum, and that the charge of their table should be defrayed, and those who were newly elected should be allowed the charge of their table only.

In July, 1667, £50 annual salary was allowed to all the assistants, and the charge of their table. It was also enacted, that such as were chosen to the office, and should refuse to serve, should be fined £5 for the use of the colony.

1666.—‘This year,’ says Morton, the author of the New England Memorial, ‘much of the wheat is destroyed by blasting and mildew;’ and it appears that this evil so frequently attended the attempts to cultivate that valuable grain on the sea-coast, that the inhabitants became discouraged and relinquished further trials.

This year, it was enacted that only three courts in the year should be holden for the trial of causes by jury, viz. on the first Tuesday of March and July, and the last Tuesday in October, but that it should be lawful, on special occasions, for any citizen of the colony, or others, to purchase special courts in the interim, to be composed of the governor and three of the magistrates at least. Subsequently, the governor and two assistants were empowered to authorize the purchase of a court, in the interim between the courts, to be holden by the governor and three assistants at least, and to be at the expense of the applicants.

The office and duties of Selectmen. This office was fraught with responsibility, and required men of good intelligence and information. They were constituted a court for the trial of small causes, being empowered to hear and determine all debts and differences arising betwixt person and person, not exceeding thirty shillings, and also to hear and determine all differences arising betwixt any Indians and English of their respective townships, &c. In 1666, their powers were enlarged; they might determine cases where the damages were laid at 40s., the right of appeal being preserved. They were also empowered to administer oaths and to issue executions. They were also required to take notice of all who came into the government without the approbation of the governor and two assistants. The court ordered the selectmen to require an account of all whom they should suppose to have neglected public worship, from profanity or slothfulness, and if they were not satisfied to return their names to the court. The selectmen were required to take an oath for the just and faithful discharge of their duties of their office.

1667.—The town agreed to send for Mr. John Cotton, minister, and bear the charge of the transportation of him, and his family and goods from Martha’s Vineyard to Plymouth, and to allow him the sum of £50 for the present year.

The Royal commissioners having made a special request to

the court, that a grant of land might be made to Peregrine White, in respect that he was the first of the English born in these parts, the court granted him 200 acres in Bridgewater, adjoining Massachusetts. In August of this year, the squaw sachem of Pocasset, named *Weetamore*, in attempting to escape from her pursuers, by crossing Tetticut river on a raft, was drowned. "She was," says Dr. Mather, "next unto *Philip* in respect of the mischief that hath been done. Some of Taunton, finding an Indian squaw in Mattepoiset, newly dead, cut off her head, and it happened to be *Weetamore*, i. e. squaw sachem, her head. When it was set upon a pole in Taunton, the Indians who were prisoners there, knew it presently, and made a most horrid and diabolical lamentation, crying out that it was their queen's head." Was not this an inhuman act?

1668.—At a town-meeting in October, it was ordered, that the selectmen have full power to require of any that shall receive strangers into their houses to give security, to save the town from charge; and also ordered, that John Everson be forthwith warned to depart from the town. It was ordered, February 5th, that only such be reputed townsmen as were inhabitants and freeholders thereof at the time when the court allowed it to be a town, and their successors, and that it be at their liberty to admit such others as are house-keepers of honest life, and are like to approve themselves so as they may be beneficial to the commonwealth, according to their capacity and abilities.

It was this year, in town-meeting, ordered, that all persons shall bring in true bills of their estate to the raters, and if any neglect, it is left to the raters to rate them as they shall in their discretion see cause, and if any one bring in a false bill, the raters, suspecting it, shall present it to the town at a meeting, and, if proved false, the person is to forfeit 12 pence on the pound for whatever rateable goods he hath omitted. The rateable property is then enumerated, and its value stated. All lands, upland and meadow. All stock, as neat cattle, horses, sheep, and swine. All single men, who have not presented above 18 pounds stock, shall notwithstanding be rated to that amount. Weavers were rated for their looms. Tailors for their faculty, to be valued at 20 pounds stock. Those in public office, receiving salaries, were rated. All those who are engaged about fishing to be valued at 20 pounds estate. Edward Gray stood the highest for stock in trade, being six score pounds.

Serjeant Harlow, for his faculty, being a Cooper,	£40
Joseph Bartlett - - - Cooper,	£30
Samuel Rider, - - - Cooper,	£30

Joseph Dunham - - - Carpenter,	£30
James Cole, keeping an Ordinary,	£20
Thomas Lucas, being a Smith,	£50
Jabez Howland - - Smith,	£40
Edward Gray, Serjeant Harlow, and Edward Dotey, for their boat,	£25
Edward Gray for another boat,	£25
Jonathan Barnes for a boat,	£18
George Watson for a boat,	£12
Lieut. Morton for a boat,	£18

Imprisonment for Debt authorised. An act for the prevention of the diversion of the execution of justice, by fraud or cozen, provided that where estate could not be found "to satisfy any fine or mulct due the country, or to answer a judgment obtained against any persons at the particular suit of any, the *person* of any so fined or cast in law shall be secured, to be responsible thereunto."

Constables, in case of the inability of coroners, were to call inquests on dead bodies. In reference to such as come to untimely deaths, it was enacted, July 1673, that there should be no burial without information to a coroner, or a constable where there is no coroner, under a penalty of £5. The nearest relations to the deceased to give notice; if none, any person, having knowledge of the fact, was bound to communicate it, for which he was to be paid from the estate of the deceased, and where there was no estate, by the treasurer. In 1668, none were permitted to vote in town-meetings but freemen and freeholders, of £20 rateable estate, and of good conversation, having taken the oath of fidelity.

October. Price of produce was regulated as follows, in payment of minister's salary: Wheat 4s. 6d.; barley 4s.; rye 3s. 6d.; corn 3s.; peas 3s.; malt 4s.; butter 6d.

Timothy Hatherly, the founder of Scituate, died there this year. Mr. Hatherly was an eminent English merchant, and had been one of the most zealous of the adventurers in forwarding the settlement of the colony. He came over in the *Ann* in 1623, as already mentioned, and returned home; came over again in 1632, and settled at Scituate, of which place he may be considered the founder. He was elected an assistant in 1636, and was continued in that office by successive elections until 1658. He was the treasurer of the colony, and sometimes a commissioner of the United Colonies. Mr. Hatherly was a gentleman of great intelligence and piety, and extremely useful in all the transactions of the colony.

A. H. for making a proposal of marriage to E. P. and pro-

secuting the same, contrary to her parent's liking and without their consent, and directly contrary to their mind and will, was sentenced to pay a fine of five pounds and find securities for good behaviour, and desist the use of any means to obtain or retain her affections. The bond A. H. acknowledgeth to owe the king £50, J. D. £25, T. W. £25. The condition that whereas the said A. H. hath disorderly and unrighteously endeavored to obtain the affections of Miss E. P. against the mind and will of her parents, if therefore the said A. H. shall for the future refrain and desist the use of any means to obtain or retain her affections as aforesaid, and appear at court the first Tuesday of July next, and be of good behaviour, &c. Released July 3d, 1667. A. H. did solemnly and seriously engage before the court that he will wholly desist, and never apply himself for the future as formerly he hath done to Miss E. P. in reference unto marriage. July, 1667.

Twenty pounds were allowed by the colony towards printing the New England Memorial, and it was recommended to the towns to make a free and voluntary contribution towards it. The treasurer was directed to have it printed, and five pounds more were added. The next year the court ordered the treasurer to make good a barrel of beef to Mr. Green, the printer, at Cambridge, to satisfy what is behind for printing the New England Memorial, which is something more than is due, but the court is willing to allow it, as he complains of a hard bargain.

1669.—Single persons were forbidden to live by themselves, or in any family excepting such as should be approved by the selectmen.

E. D. of Eastham, for slandering and belying his neighbors, was fined twenty shillings, and reserved for future censure to a further trial of his future conversation. J. C. for travelling on Sunday, and W. H. for conveying wood on Sunday, fined ten shillings each. N. S. for telling several lies to the damage of the colony, fined £5, or to be whipped. H. R. for abusing her husband, sentenced to be publicly whipped at the post: at the earnest entreaty of herself and others, and promising amendment, it was suspended; but if at any other time she be taken in the like fault, it is to be executed.

On the eighth of December, 1669, died, Captain Thomas Southworth one of the assistants, at the age of fifty-three. He attracted the attention and respect of the people very early, and was selected to succeed Mr. Brewster in his office of ruling elder; but governor Bradford deeming him to be well

adapted to civil office, the design was abandoned, and Mr. Cushman was elected.

Mr. Southworth was elected an assistant in 1652, and continued in the government, with but few interruptions, until his death. He was one of the commissioners of the united colonies in 1659, and three years after; again in 1664 he was appointed governor of the colonies' territory on the Kennebec river; in Maine. He was a man eminent for the soundness of his mind and the piety of his heart. It has been noticed, page 107, that governor Bradford married for his second wife Mrs. Alice Southworth, who came over with her two sons, Constant and Thomas. Thomas married his cousin Elizabeth Reyner, a daughter of the Rev. John Reyner, the minister of Plymouth. His only child, Eliza, married Joseph Howland, a son of John Howland, one of the Pilgrims of the Mayflower. *

Constant Southworth was admitted a freeman in 1637, and in the same year married a daughter of Mr. Collier. His name is on the list of volunteers to go against the Pequots, in 1637. He was elected deputy for Duxbury in 1649, and in several other years; was colony treasurer from 1659 to 1678, and often one of the assistants. In the early part of Philip's war he was commissary general, and accompanied the army. The famous partizan officer, Benjamin Church, married his daughter Alice, and two of his sons frequently accompanied Church in his expeditions. He died in 1687, leaving three sons, Edward, Nathaniel and William; three married daughters and two unmarried.

1670.—By a law of this year, any one refusing to serve in the office of Selectman was to be fined, and it was ordered that there should be three courts of selectmen in a year. The selectmen were not only the chief executive and police officers of the several towns, charged with a general superintendence of town affairs, and with a general oversight of the morals and manners of the inhabitants, but they were judicial officers. See page 123.

* Captain Southworth's death is thus noticed in the records. "On the eighth day of November, Anno Dom. 1669, the honored Captain Thomas Southworth changed this life for a better; being then about the age of fifty-three years; who was a magistrate of this jurisdiction, and otherwise a good benefactor to both church and commonwealth; and that which is more than all that has been named, he was a very Godly man, and he lived and died full of faith and comfort, being much lamented by all of all sorts, sects, and conditions of people within our jurisdiction of New Plymouth.

In town-meeting, the present year, it was ordered, that there shall be no tar made by any person but such as are townsmen, whose names are entered in the town's list; ordered also, that there shall be no pine knots collected or tar made within the town by others than townsmen, on forfeiture of all such knots or tar. Town proprietors may, by themselves, or order, make ten barrels of tar annually, and no more. It was at the same time ordered, that whatever whale, or part of a whale, or other great fish that will make oil, shall by the Providence of God, be cast on shore within the bounds of the township, every such whale or fish, two parts, of three, shall belong to the town, and the other part to such as may find and cut them up, and try out the oil, provided they be of the town proprietors.

1671.—John Prince and Nathaniel Bosworth, of Hull, petitioned the General Court of Plymouth for liberty to fish at Cape Cod for mackerel, they having discovered a method of fishing with nets by moonlight.

This year the code of laws for the colony was again revised, and the next year printed, with this title: *The book of the general laws of the inhabitants of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth.* Printed by Samuel Green, of Cambridge.*

John Barnes was standing at his barn door stroking his bull, when the animal turned suddenly and thrust his horn into his thigh, making a wound eight inches long, from which he languished about thirty-two hours, and then died. From him probably descended the family of Barnes, in this town.

1672.—February 23d, Mr. John Howland, sen. of Plymouth, deceased. "He was a Godly man and an ancient professor in the ways of Christ; he lived to the age of 80 years, and proved a useful instrument of good in his place. He was the last man that was left of those that came over in the ship called the Mayflower that lived in Plymouth; he was with honor interred at Plymouth on the 25th of February." Mr. Howland was an assistant in the government as early as 1633, and for several years afterward. He left several daughters and four sons, viz. John, who settled at Barnstable; Joseph, settled at Middleborough; Jabez, was a very active and enterprising Lieut. under Capt. Church in Philip's War, and after the conquest of Mount Hope, he settled at Bristol, in Rhode Island.

* 'Governor Hutchinson, with unaccountable carelessness, has asserted, (vol. ii. 463) that they never established any distinct code or body of laws; grounding his assertion on a passage in Hubbard's *MS. History*, which implies no such thing. —*Belknap*.

The following remarks and family Genealogy, are from the pen of the venerable John Howland, President of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Unaccountable as it may appear, it is unhappily true that very few of those men who first arrived from England, and commenced the settlement of the New-England Colonies left any memorials for the information of their descendants respecting the place of their birth or residence in the country they left, or any account of those branches of their respective families which they left behind. Roger Williams was a learned man, and one of the principal founders of the Colony of Rhode Island, and of which he was several years Governor, he wrote and published several Tracts on different subjects, yet left nothing from which we are able even to infer the place of his birth or education, and what is deemed peculiarly unfortunate for the history of the State, neither himself or any of his colleagues in the enterprise have left any notice of the time of his arrival at Providence. Records, as well as tradition, assure us that his arrival, to begin the settlement, was in the year sixteen hundred and thirty-six, but the month, or the day cannot now be ascertained. And most of the emigrants who arrived in the Mayflower, and began the settlement of the first Colony, as well as those who came after, seem to have literally obeyed the advice and injunction of the Royal Prophet, in the 45th Psalm—*Forget also thine own people and thy Father's house; instead of thy Fathers, shall be thy children.* So far as relates to historical or family records their descendants seem to have been as forgetful as their parents; it is therefore at this day a work of time and great labor to trace the genealogical time of a family from the Pilgrims, even though their ancestors were in their day *men of renown.* I have nevertheless thought it proper to engross such notices of my ancestors as I have been able to collect and which may be more likely to be preserved here than on the loose papers on which the Memorials were first entered.

John Howland and his wife, Elizabeth Carver, daughter of Governor Carver, arrived at Plymouth in the ship called the Mayflower, December 16th, old style, 1620.

John Howland and Elizabeth his wife had four sons and six

daughters, the names of the sons were John, Jabez, Isaac, and Joseph. (See page 128 of the present volume.)

The names of the six daughters, who were all living and married at the time of their father's decease, are entered in his will as follows ;

Desire Gorham. •
Hope Chipman.
Elizabeth Dickenson.
Lydia Brown.
Hannah Bosworth.
Ruth Cushman.

John Howland, son of John Howland who arrived at Plymouth, settled in Barnstable.

Jabez, the 2nd son after the Indian war settled in Bristol.

Isaac, settled in Middleborough.

Joseph, the 4th son settled in Plymouth.

Jabez Howland, second son of John Howland and Elizabeth his wife was married to Bethia Thacher, only daughter of Anthony Thacher of Yarmouth. Before their removal to Bristol, they had three sons born in Plymouth, viz:

Jabez, born 15th September, 1669.

Josiah, born August 1st, 1676.

John, born July 26, 1679.

Samuel born in Bristol.

Joseph, born in Bristol, October 14th, 1692.

From the four sons first above mentioned are descended a numerous posterity.

For the very interesting account of the life of Anthony Thacher and of his descendants in the male line, see the history of the Thacher family, published by Dr. James Thacher one of the descendants. See also the record of illustrious providences by Increase Mather, published in Boston in the year 1684.

Joseph Howland, youngest son of Jabez and Bethia Howland and grandson of John Howland and Elizabeth his wife, born October 14th, 1692.

Bathsheba Cary, daughter of David Cary was born August 14th, 1693. Joseph Howland was married to Bathsheba Cary, to whom were born:

Lydia, November 6, 1715.

Joseph, born December 6, 1717.

Elizabeth, February 14th, 1719.

Joseph Howland, son of Jabez, and grandson of John and Elizabeth Howland who arrived at Plymouth in the Mayflower, died August 16th, 1737.

Joseph Howland, son of Joseph and Bathsheba settled in Newport, R. I.

In the year 1638, (which was two years after Roger Williams and his company settled at Providence) William Coddington and seventeen other gentlemen from Massachusetts began the settlement of the Island of Rhode Island, the Indian name of which was Aquetneck, sometimes called by Gov. Winthrop in his Journal Aquaday. They purchased the Island, by the agency and assistance of Roger Williams of the two great Sachems of Narraganset, Conanicus and Miantinoma, and gave the Indians who lived on the Island twenty hoes, some strings of beads and other articles to move off and give them quiet possession. Of the number of purchasers was *James Barker*, and on the division of the land a large tract near the south east part of the Island fell to his share, and at his death was principally divided among his four sons.

James Barker's name stands in the charter of King Charles the second, as one of the Proprietors forming the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, and he is there appointed one of the ten assistants. His age or the time of his death I have not yet ascertained. Jeremiah Barker, grandson of James Barker, was born January 16th, 1699, and in 1724 was married to Penelope Hicks, who was born July 24th, 1703.

Sarah Barker, daughter of Jeremiah and Penelope Barker, born April 5th, 1725. She was born, and lived till her marriage, in the house first built on that part of the Island by her great grandfather, James Barker. The house stood on the east side of the brook and on the west side of the road in Middletown, which leads to Sachawest Beach.

Joseph Howland, son of Joseph and Bathsheba Howland, grandson of Jabez and Bethia Thacher Howland, and great grandson of John Howland, who arrived in the Mayflower, was in 1746, married to Sarah Barker, daughter of Jeremiah and Penelope Barker.

Henry Howland, son of Joseph and Sarah Howland was born in Newport in 1751, and is now living, he married Susan Baker. Their only son, Benjamin Baker Howland, is the present Town Clerk, and Clerk of Probate in Newport.

Penelope Howland only daughter of Joseph and Sarah Howland born in 1755, married Captain John Taber. From this marriage are descended children to the third and fourth generation.

John Howland, son of Joseph Howland and Sarah his wife, was born in Newport, October 31st, 1757, removed to Providence, and January 28th, 1788, was married to Mary Carlile, daughter of John and Elizabeth Carlile, and great grand-daugh-

ter of the elder brother of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. To them were born :

Alfred, born February 26, 1790.
 Penelope, January 19th, 1792.
 Benjamin Russell, October 20th, 1793.
 Janetta, October 6th, 1801.
 Mary, August 11th, 1805.

Six children of John and Mary Howland, whose names are not entered here, died under the age of 2 years.

Alfred, eldest son of John and Mary Howland, died February 4th, 1816, aged 26 years.

Benjamin Russell, son of John and Mary Howland, died in Nashville, Tennessee, October 16th, 1827.

Penelope Howland married to Amherst Everett, son of Dr. Abijah Everett, of Attleborough, August 19th, 1813.

Mary Howland married to Roland Lyman of East Hampton, December 30th, 1831.

Children of Amherst and Penelope Everett.

Mary Howland Everett,	John Howland Everett,
Alfred Howland Everett,	Edward Amherst Everett,
Bethia Thacher Everett,	Richmond Everett.

Elizabeth Russell, daughter of Roland Lyman and Mary his wife, born March 23d, 1835.

RECAPITULATION.

FIRST GENERATION.

John Howland and Elizabeth his wife, who arrived at Plymouth, December 22d, 1620.

SECOND GENERATION.

Jabez Howland and Bethia Thacher his wife.

THIRD GENERATION.

Josiah Howland and Bathsheba his wife.

FOURTH GENERATION.

Joseph Howland and Sarah his wife.

FIFTH GENERATION.

Henry Howland and Susan his wife.

Penelope Howland, her husband John Taber.

John Howland and Mary, his wife.

Benjamin Howland and Susan his wife. (Omitted in the preceding page.)

SIXTH GENERATION.

Benjamin Baker Howland, of Newport.

Penelope Everett, }
Jenetta Howland, } daughters of John Howland.

Mary Lyman,

Six sons and three daughters of Benjamin Howland.

SEVENTH GENERATION.

Three children of Benjamin B. Howland.

Four children of Amherst Everett.

One child of Roland Lyman.

Six grandchildren of Benjamin Howland.

1673.—March 29th, died at Eastham, Governor Thomas Prince, in the 73d year of his age, and his remains were brought to Plymouth, and on the 8th of April were honorably interred among the fathers on the burial hill. Mr. Prince arrived at Plymouth in the *Fortune*, in 1621, when about 21 years old. In 1624, he married Fear, the daughter of Elder Brewster. In 1634 he was chosen governor. The next year, being a widower, he married Mary, the daughter of Mr. William Collier. About this time it is presumed he removed to Duxbury, where Mr. Collier resided. His residence at Plymouth is indicated by a reference in the records to his lot in 'High Street.' In 1638, Mr. Prince again served in the office of governor. Before he was again elected in 1657, he had removed to Eastham. The law required the governor to reside at Plymouth, but there was dispensation in his favor until 1665, when he removed to Plymouth, and took possession of a place provided for him by the government, which he occupied until his death. It was more than a mile from the centre of the town, on the road towards Boston, and was called *Plain Dealing*. This place was well known as the Lothrop farm, and is now in the occupancy of Isaac L. Hedge, Esq.

The governor's salary was at the time established at £50 per annum, and it was stipulated that he should receive that sum annually, so long as he should be governor of the colony. The administration of Governor Prince was inauspicious and perplexing. Many 'uncomfortable jars' and unhappy animosities prevailed, in consequence of the harsh measures which were pursued against sectaries, especially against the Quakers. The governor had also to encounter many difficulties with the Indians. But, amidst these various perplexities, the governor appears to have pursued a firm and steady course in promotion of the substantial interests of his constituents; "and if," says Judge Davis, "we except the lamented departure in some instances, from a just and prudent toleration on religious topics, a critical and candid examination of Governor Prince's conduct during the sixteen successive years of his magistracy, will, it is believed, find little to reprehend, and much to approve." He is particularly to be applauded for his solicitous attention to the establishment of schools in the colony, of a higher grade than had before existed. Governor Prince was often employed in other public services of importance. He was of the council of war, treasurer of the colony at one time, and often a Commissioner of the United Colonies. His integrity was proverbial, and his industry, energy, and sound judgment, rendered him a very useful instrument in conducting the

affairs of the rising colony, "and would, we think," says Judge Davis, "have made him a respectable character in a far more considerable community."

Among the good deeds of Governor Prince, we should not omit to mention his exertion for a fixed and competent support of an able and learned ministry. In many of the scattered settlements, a disposition prevailed to neglect this important branch of public instruction, or to employ incompetent lay exhorters, practices which he uniformly discountenanced.

Governor Prince left seven daughters, all of whom were married before his decease. His son, Thomas, went to England, where he married, and died young.

The Plymouth church records, in expressing Mr. Prince's character and his amiable and pleasant conversation, depart from their usual course, by an indication of his personal appearance, from which it may be supposed that it was peculiarly dignified and striking. 'He was excellently qualified for the office of governor. He had a countenance full of majesty, and therein, as well as otherwise, was a terror to evil-doers.' The foregoing is an abstract from the ample memoir by Judge Davis, in the Memorial.

At the court in June of this year, Josias Winslow, the eldest son of the late governor Edward Winslow, was elected as the successor of Governor Prince. John Alden remained the first assistant.

At a town-meeting, April 22d, Captain William Bradford was appointed and requested to officiate as moderator at all town-meetings, and ordered that the principal things to be proposed at the meetings be drawn up in writing, and openly read. It was ordered, that every man in the town shall procure twelve black-birds' heads, on pain of paying a fine of 2s. for every default, or 2d. apiece for so many as shall be wanting of the dozen. It was also ordered, that all such persons as refuse to pay their rates shall be denied all the town privileges, and that none be permitted to be inhabitants in the town before they engage to bear their proportion of all town charges.

1674.—This year an Indian, named John Saussaman, deserted the service of King Philip, and informed the governor of the Indian combination for the extermination of the English. While the government were concerting measures of defence, Saussaman was murdered, and his body concealed under the ice in Assawamset pond, in Middleborough. The murderers, three of Philip's men, being detected, were tried by a court holden in June, six grave Indians being on the jury.—See

Appendix. They were condemned to suffer death and were executed. The sanguinary war that followed menaced all New England with destruction. A wide spreading desolation and slaughter of the defenceless men, women and children ensued.

1675.—It was ordered by the court, that during the time of public danger every man that comes to meeting on the Lord's day, bring his arms with him, with at least five charges of powder and shot, under a penalty of two shillings for every default. That whoever shall shoot off a gun on any unnecessary occasion, or at any game except at an *Indian or a wolf*, shall forfeit five shillings for every such shot, until further liberty shall be given. This year William Macumber, for calling on an Indian for a debt on Sunday, and a man for fighting on Sunday, were fined forty shillings each, or to be publicly whipped. The general court ordered that four halberts should attend the governor and assistants on election days, and two during the continuance of the court.

In town-meeting, May 24th, it was unanimously agreed that the house and land on which Mr. John Cotton, their present minister now lives, shall be given to him and to his heirs and assigns forever, in case the said Mr. Cotton liveth and dieth in this place in the work of the ministry. In consideration of which, the said Mr. Cotton and his wife do fully and freely quit and discharge the said town of the fifty pounds which they had promised to Mistress Cotton formerly, in case of her husband's death in this place. Moreover, it is agreed, that the said house shall now be viewed by four men, mutually chosen by the said town, and Mr. Cotton to set a just value upon it, and if God by his Providence shall call Mr. Cotton from his work in this place during his life time, then the said house shall be again valued by four men mutually chosen as above, and the town will pay to Mr. Cotton the amount of the sum so determined.

October 4th.—At the General Court of his majesty, held at Plymouth, Major James Cudworth was unanimously chosen and re-established in the office of General or Commander-in-chief, to take the charge of our forces that are or may be sent forth in the behalf of the colony against the enemies, as occasion may require.—See Appendix. Captain John Gorham to be captain of a company. In reference to such emergent charges that have fallen on our honored governor the summer past, the court have settled and conferred on him the price of ten Indians, of those savages lately transported out of the government. One hundred and seventy-eight had recently been *shipped on board of Captain Sprague for Cadiz.*

1676.—January 7th.—The town having received by their Constables two warrants, the one requiring the town to press eleven able men to go forth as soldiers against the Indians, the other requiring a rate of eleven pounds to be raised towards the charge of the soldiers, the town appointed a council of war and raters to levy the said rate, that the aforesaid requirements may be speedily complied with.

February 19th.—A fortification was ordered to be erected on Fort Hill, one hundred feet square, with palisadoes ten and a half feet high, and three pieces of ordnance planted within it; on which occasion all the males of sixteen years and upwards assisted in its erection. At the same time the town agreed with Nathaniel Southworth to build a watch-house, "which is to be 16 feet in length, 12 feet in breadth, and 8 feet stud, to be walled with boards and to have two floors, the upper floor to be 6 feet above the lower, to batten the walls and make a small pair of stairs in it, the roof to be covered with shingles, and a chimney to be built in it. For the said work he is to have eight pounds, either in money or other pay equivalent.

This was the distressing period of Philip's war, and it was in the depth of winter when these preparations were imperiously demanded against a savage insidious foe. These palisadoes were undoubtedly resorted to occasionally as a safeguard for the helpless women and children. The fort was so located as to have a spring of water at hand, and to command an extensive landscape around. This cruel war between Philip and the English settlers was attended by inexpressible calamities, each party making every possible effort for the total overthrow of its antagonist. After its continuance of about two years it terminated in the death of Philip and the extinction of his tribe, while on the part of the colonies was suffered a loss of about six hundred men in the flower of their strength, twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed, and six hundred dwelling houses consumed, and more than two thousand pounds sterling expended.* During the continuance of this war all the inhabitants of Middleborough were compelled to take refuge in the town of Plymouth. A brief history of Philip's war will be

* It does not appear that, during the war with the savages, the colonies received any assistance from the parent country. They were treated as voluntary exiles and left to their own defence.—But when the country had increased in population and in commerce, the English government discovered an anxious desire to draw a revenue from the descendants of those who had been thus despised and neglected.

found recorded in the appendix to this volume. When the times no longer required defence against the Indians, the fort mentioned above was demolished, and the huge timber sold to William Harlow, who converted it into a dwelling house. The lines of the fort are still visible and may be traced with exactness, and in the year 1834 an Elm tree was planted in the centre by the author. The cannons employed in the fort were removed to Cole's Hill, for the defence of the town, not against savages, but the assaults of a civilized and kindred people during the revolutionary war. After that event the cannons were sold as refuse iron, and wrought up in a forge at Bridgewater. The antiquarian will regret that these relics of ancient warfare, these protectors of our ancestors when in a helpless condition, were not transmitted to later generations.

It is a consoling fact, says Dr. Holmes's *Annals*, that our ancestors purchased of the natives their land for an equivalent consideration, as appears by a letter from the pious governor Winslow, dated at Marshfield, May 1st, 1676, as follows: 'I think I can clearly say, that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors. We first made a law that none should purchase or receive by gift any land of the Indians, without the knowledge of our court. And lest they should be straitened, we ordered that Mount Hope, Pocasset, and several other necks of the best land in the colony, because most suitable and convenient for them, should never be bought out of their hands.'

1678.—The General Court, well aware that it is upon the pastoral office that particular churches must depend for religious instruction and edification, ordered, that proper provision should be made for the support of public worship; and, in 1678, it was enacted that in each town and village within the jurisdiction, there should be a house of public worship erected. The provision made in the foregoing law is believed to have been the first where coercive collection of taxes, for the maintenance of ministers, was authorized. Orders had been passed which recommended to the people to provide a liberal support for their pastors, but no authority had been given to enforce its coercive payment. In the same year provision was made also for the support of public schools.

In November of this year, two more courts were authorized to be holden by the selectmen of towns, in December and May. The laws respecting the sales of strong liquors and wines were renewed, and the penalties increased, and the sale was forbid-

den to all except strangers, and not allowed to them without a license.

The court, conceiving that the public safety required that all persons in the government should abide and continue in each town respectively, ordered that no one should depart on the penalty of forfeiting his whole personal estate, except by allowance of the governor, or two magistrates; and it shall be lawful to seize their persons and estates, boats, and carts, that shall be found employed in carrying them away.

I cite from the Old Colony Record Book of Court Orders, the following proceeding:—‘This may certify, that certain Indians near Sandwich, whose names are Canootus and Symon and Joell, being apprehended on their confession, convicted of feloniously breaking open a house and stealing from a chest of Zechariah Allen, of Sandwich, twenty-five pounds in money, they having lost or embezzled said money, and no other way appearing how he should be satisfied for his loss, the colony have sentenced the above named Indians to be perpetual slaves, and empower said Allen to make sale of them in New England, or elsewhere, as his lawful slaves for the term of their lives.’

Edward Gray hired Clark’s Island for seven years, at £3 9s. per annum, to keep 16 neat cattle free of rate, townsmen to have liberty to bring wood for building, fencing and firing. Agawam lands were leased for seven years.

1679.—August 4th. Nathaniel Morton was chosen and sworn Clerk of the town, and it was ordered and voted, that all acts, orders, and grants of land, and all other particulars entered in our town book heretofore, shall be authentic and good in law as if they had been entered by a Clerk under oath.

1680.—*Josiah Winslow*, governor of Plymouth Colony died December 18th, 1680, in the fifty-second year of his age. He was the son of governor Edward Winslow, born at Marshfield, 1629, and the first governor born in New England. He enjoyed the benefit of his father’s care and attention in his early education, and his whole life evidenced that he copied that eminent man’s bright example of steady virtue, public spirit, and disinterested energetic action.

His discretion as a civil magistrate, and his bravery as a military commander, procured him great respect, and the fullest confidence of the people. One of the first steps in his administration, was to correct a rash proceeding that had made unfavorable impressions on the minds of many of the best men in the colony. Mr. Cudworth was not only left out of the magistracy, as has been before observed, on account of his opposition to the proceedings against the quakers, but his letter to Mr. Brown,

published in England, had given such offence, that he was disfranchised, and deprived of his military command in Scituate. A like severity, and on similar grounds, had been exercised in regard to Isaac Robinson, son of the Rev. John Robinson. His name was stricken off the list of freemen. Soon after Mr. Winslow's election, both these gentlemen were restored to their former places, and the country had the benefit of Mr. Cudworth's valuable services, in many important trusts in the military and in the civil department. Governor Winslow was eminently serviceable in Philip's war. He commanded the English army at the great Swamp fight in 1676, (See appendix,) and his name is mentioned with honor in various histories of that period. In a letter to governor Leveret, he thus expresses himself:—'Some resolute attempt for Philip's surprisal must be put in execution. Would to God I was with our men, so as I might not, in the meantime, be missed at home. I should hope, by the blessing of God, to give a good account of him in a short time.' July 26th, 1675, 'My person, I hear, has been much threatened. I have about twenty men at my house; have sent away my wife and children to Salem, that I may be less encumbered; have flankered my house, and resolved to maintain it so long as a man will stand by me.' His health, habitually feeble, was much impaired by the fatigues of the Narraganset expedition. In February, 1676, the commissioners of the United Colonies observed, that 'through indisposition of body, he is disenabled from going forth again.' And, therefore, made provision, that the commander-in-chief of the forces of the colony, where the seat of war should happen to be, should be 'chief over the whole.' One hundred pounds was allowed by the commissioners for his services, and a grant, on the same ground, was made to him by Plymouth colony. His stated salary, as governor, was fifty pounds per annum. The expenses of his funeral, forty pounds, were directed to be paid from the public treasury, 'as a testimony of the colony's endeared love and affection to him.*' *Plymouth Record*. His wife was Penelope, a daughter of Herbert Pelham, Esq., a gentleman of distinction, who took an early interest in the settlement of New England, and who came to Boston in 1637, but did not remain long in the country. Governor Winslow was introduced into public life very early, and as soon as he was eligible, was chosen a deputy to the court from Marshfield, and several times afterwards.

* Two elegies were written on the death of governor Josiah Winslow; one by Rev. Mr. Witherell, of Scituate, the other by Rev. Mr. Wiswall, of Duxbury. The former is published in Rev. Mr. Dean's history of Scituate.

In 1657, soon after the death of his father, he was chosen an assistant, and in 1659, the major, or chief military commander of the colony.

He was, for many years, a commissioner of the confederated colonies, and in 1673, after the death of governor Prince, he was chosen his successor. In his native colony, governor Winslow stood on the highest ground in society. 'Civic honors awaited him in his earliest youth; he reached every elevation which could be attained; and there was nothing left for ambition to covet, because all had been gained. He lived on his ample paternal domain, and his hospitality was not only generous, but magnificent. In addition to his military and civic distinctions, he had acquired that of being the most accomplished gentleman, and the most delightful companion, in the colony, and the attractions of the festive and social board at Careswell were not a little heightened by the charms of his beautiful wife.' 'Mild and tolerant himself,' continues Mr. Baylies, 'he witnessed with regret the movements of that fierce spirit which would not tolerate the liberality, and was blind to the wisdom of Cudworth and Brown; and he had the address to restore them to the confidence of the people, at a period when the curse of the age, the spirit of religious bigotry, was maddened by opposition and armed with power. Persevering, frank, bold and resolute, he encountered the hazard of popular displeasure with the same fearlessness as he did the ambushes and bullets of the savages.'*

His only son, the Hon. *Isaac Winslow*, was eminently distinguished, having sustained the chief places of power and honor in the colony, as chief military commander under the governor, and for several years Chief Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, Judge of Probate of Wills, and one of his Majesty's Council for the Province of Massachusetts Bay for more than twenty years, and for several years President of that body. This gentleman possessed a true English spirit, much given to hospitality, and was universally beloved. He died at his seat at Marshfield, December, 1738,† in the 68th year

* Tradition gives the following anecdote: "At the funeral of Gov. J. Winslow, Rev. Mr. Witherell, of Scituate, prayed that the Governor's son might be made half equal to his father. The Rev. Dr. Gad Hitchcock, on the same occasion, observed, that the prayer was so very reasonable that it might be hoped that God would grant it, but he did not.

† He was buried on the 18th of December. The bearers were Col. Thaxter, Col. Lathrop, N. Thomas, N. Sever, Kenelm Winslow, Esq., and J———.

of his age. He lived to see both of his surviving sons, John and Edward, take their turns as clerks of the same courts.

His eldest son, a young gentleman of great promise, by the name of Josiah, engaged in military service, received a captain's commission, and was killed in battle, with thirteen of his company, after a most gallant resistance against a superior force of French and Indians in 1724. General *John Winslow*, the eldest of the surviving sons of Isaac, was a distinguished and successful commander. In 1740, he commanded a company in the expedition against Cuba, and afterwards rose to the rank of Major-general in the British service.* In 1755, an expedition against Nova Scotia was undertaken by the British Government, of which General Monckton was commander-in-chief, and General (then Colonel) John Winslow, second in command. So great was the popularity of Colonel Winslow, that in an incredible short time he raised for this expedition two thousand men. The two French forts were captured, with scarcely any loss on the part of the conquerors, and the whole Province completely reduced, chiefly through the enterprise and good conduct of Colonel Winslow: to him too was entrusted the difficult and delicate task of removing the French neutrals. In

* We have now in the library of the Pilgrim Society three commissions to John Winslow, Esq.

1. Commission by Gov. Shirley, authorising him to hold courts-martial while on the expedition to Crown Point, 1755.

2. Commission by Gov. Hardy, of New York, to be General and commander-in-chief of the Provincial troops, July, 1756.

3. By Gov. Pownall, to be Major-general in the king's service, 1757.

Gen. Winslow was remarkable for his skill in horsemanship. He imported a valuable horse from England, and it was among his greatest delights to be mounted on his favorite animal. On a certain occasion, a number of gentlemen of this town formed a party with Gen. Winslow, for a pleasure excursion to Saquish, in Plymouth harbor, and to return to dine in town. While there, Winslow fell asleep; the other gentlemen silently withdrew, and pursued their journey. When he awoke and found himself deserted, he mounted, and daringly plunging his steed into the channel, swam him across, and landed on Plymouth beach, a distance estimated at something more than half a mile, from whence he rode into town, making the whole distance but six miles, while his companions were riding fourteen miles. On their arrival, they were astounded to find the General seated at the tavern, prepared to greet them with a bowl of punch.

1756, he commanded at Fort William Henry, on Lake George. He was also a counsellor of the Province. He died at Marshfield in 1774, at the age of 73.

General John Winslow resided for several years in Plymouth: he owned the house which now belongs to the heirs of Hon. James Warren, making the southwest corner of North street.

The fact is well understood that many of this ancient family had been educated from infancy under the beguiling influence and favor of the Royal government. At the commencement, and during the whole progress of the revolutionary struggle, therefore, it was found difficult to espouse a cause so totally incompatible with their sense of duty to their sovereign, and the family were subject to much obloquy and unhappiness by their faithful adherence to the royal cause. General John Winslow left two sons, Pelham* and Isaac. Pelham, from principle was in the Royal interest, and being obnoxious to popular resentment, found it expedient to resort to the British for protection, and he died on Long Island in the year 1776. Isaac was loyal also, but in the medical profession, and resided on the paternal estate at Marshfield, where he died in 1819, aged 81 years.

Edward the youngest brother of General John Winslow, was an accomplished scholar and a gentleman of fine taste. He resided in Plymouth, and together with his son, filled the offices of clerk of the court, Register of Probate and collector of the Port. Being a professed royalist, he removed to Halifax with his family, soon after the commencement of hostilities, where he died, June 8th, 1784, aged 72 years. The ceremonies at his funeral were in a style to confer the highest honor and respect on the venerable deceased. In consequence of his removal, his estate in his native town was confiscated, but every branch of his family was by the British Government amply

* Pelham married the daughter of Capt. Gideon White, of this town, whom he left with two daughters; the elder married the late Henry Warren, Esq. and the younger married Nathan Hayward, Esq. Isaac Winslow, the physician, married the daughter of the elder Dr. Stockbridge, of Scituate. His children were John, an eminent lawyer, who died at Natches, 1820, where he had removed on account of his health. The daughters are three, the wife of Kilborn Whitman, Esq., the widow of Thomas Dingley, Esq., and the wife of Ebenezer Clapp, Esq. John left two sons and three daughters, Pelham, the eldest son, died in 1832. Isaac, who now resides in Boston, is the only male survivor in New England, descended from Gov. Winslow.

provided for during the remainder of their lives. His son, Edward Winslow, Jr. was also an intelligent and accomplished gentleman; he graduated at Harvard College in 1765. He was one of the founders and most active members of the Old Colony Club, and his address on the 22d of December, 1770, was the first ever delivered on that occasion. This gentleman being friendly to the royal cause joined the British at Boston before the war commenced, and was afterwards appointed a colonel in their service. He subsequently received the appointment of Chief Justice in New Brunswick, and his posterity are still in the enjoyment of high official distinctions in that Province. A writer in the Boston Gazette, November, 1826,* having just visited the seat of the Winslow family, speaking of the family portraits, says, 'all of which we hope may at no distant day be copied to adorn the Pilgrim Hall at Plymouth; that of Josiah Winslow is evidently by the hand of a master, and his beautiful bride makes one of the group. She appears about twenty, and her costume is more modern than is given to other females of that period. Her head-dress is of great simplicity, the hair parted on the top, and falling in ringlets on each side of her temples and neck; the countenance bespeaks intelligence and gentleness.'

There are yet in existence some relics belonging to the Winslow family. A sitting chair which was screwed to the floor of the Mayflower's cabin, for the convenience of a lady: it is known to have been in the possession of Penelope Winslow, who married James Warren. This chair is now in possession of Miss Hannah White, a direct descendant from Peregrine White. A watch-purse, composed of small beads, which was made by Penelope Pelham, while on her voyage to America. She married governor Winslow. A curious ring, which contains the hair of governor Josiah Winslow; and a pearl spoon. These last articles are in possession of Mrs. Hayward, who was a Winslow.

1681.—It was ordered by the town that no foreign Indians be permitted to hunt within the precincts of our township, and that if they do not desist, complaint be made against them to the court.

August 22d. In reference unto John Harman, the town ordered, that if any person should come and set him down in the street in the town, a warrant shall be in readiness to arrest the man that shall bring him and leave him in the street, or any part or place within our township, to answer for a breach of law in the cause.

* Alden Bradford, Esq.

May 21st. The town empowered the deputies to make defence in plea concerning John Harman, and do hereby engage to stand to what they shall conclude in that respect; and the town likewise engage to pay the charge that may arise in that behalf. And the town also voted, that no housekeeper in the town shall entertain any stranger in his house above a fortnight, without giving information to the selectmen, upon the forfeiture of 10s. a week for all such time as any such stranger shall be so entertained, and the selectmen are required to see that no charge fall on the town by any such neglect.

Thomas Hinckley of Barnstable, succeeded Josiah Winslow in the office of governor; and was re-elected to that office for several years. Military companies were required to fill vacancies with able officers, and the soldiers were to be provided with swords and cutlasses. The selectmen were required to be under oath, and the secretary was to furnish them a book containing all the orders of court. It was also ordered, that in every town of the jurisdiction, three men should be chosen and joined with the commissioned officers to be the town council. Elder Faunce was one of three members of this board, whose duty seems to have been, to adjust and make taxes accruing in military affairs, and to provide for the general defence.

1682.—Agawam land was sold, to build a meeting-house; a free passage for the alewives up the brook from Buzzard's Bay reserved to the town, and the jurisdiction of the territory. This meeting-house was the second built on the same lot in the town square. The town's part of the money, which Mount Hope land sold for, went in part for this appropriation.

A person was appointed by the town to grant tickets, according to law in such cases provided, to such persons as are necessitated to travel on the Lord's day. The people were required to refrain from labor and recreation on fast and thanksgiving days, and from travelling on the sabbath and on lecture days. Inn-keepers were required to clear their houses of all persons able to go to meeting, except strangers.

Severe laws were passed in 1677 and in 1682, regulating the lives and conduct of the Indians, requiring them to live orderly, soberly and diligently. In each town where Indians live, one able, discreet man was to be appointed by the court of assistants to take oversight and government of the Indians in said town, and to take notice of all breaches of the laws. In each town where Indians reside, every tenth Indian shall be chosen by the court of assistants annually, as an overseer, who shall take particular inspection and oversight of his nine men, and present their faults to the proper authority.

It was also ordered, that the overseers and tithing-men should appoint Indian constables annually, who shall attend their courts, and the constables shall obey all the warrants of the overseers on such penalty as the court of assistants shall inflict. The Indians were subject to all capital and criminal laws made for the English in the colony. For drunkenness, for the first fault to pay a fine of five shillings, or be whipped; for the second, ten shillings, or be whipped.

Charles Stockbridge was employed by the town to build a grist-mill this year, now called the upper mill, being then the second on the same stream.

1683.—The court ordered that the selectmen in each town take care that the poor in their respective townships be provided for at the charge of the town.

A bridge over Eel river, and one over Jones's river, ordered to be built.

1684.—The king's highways were laid out through the township.

1685.—The town chose Major Bradford and Joseph Warren to be their agents to appear at the court and answer the town's presentment relating to Jones's river bridge, and act on the town's behalf with the agents from the four other towns, who are engaged with this town to repair the said bridge.

This is the date of the colony of Plymouth being divided into three counties, Plymouth, Barnstable, and Bristol, and in the same year 'their body of laws was revised and published. It is a small but venerable volume, and contains many marks of the wisdom and piety of the framers.' There were at that time in the colony, 1439 praying Indians, besides boys and girls under twelve years of age, who were supposed to be more than three times that number.

The puritans did not take the name of Christians for the purpose of conquest or gain; it was among their first concerns to conciliate the Indians, and thus prepare the way for their conversion to the christian faith, and great efforts were made for their religious instruction. Judge Davis, in his Appendix to the Memorial, observes, that the employment of the more intelligent and energetic Indians as rulers, was particularly grateful to them. He had often heard of amusing anecdotes of the Indian rulers. The following warrant is recollected, which was issued by one of those magistrates, directed to an Indian constable, and will not suffer in comparison with our more verbose forms.

'I, Hihoudi, you Peter Waterman, Jeremy Wicket, quick you take him, fast you hold him, straight you bring him before me, Hihoudi.'

On the 28th of June, died Mr. Nathaniel Morton, secretary of the colony court, and author of New England's Memorial.

Nathaniel Morton was the son of Mr. George Morton, who came to Plymouth, with his family, in July, 1623. He had been an inhabitant of the same village with governor Bradford, in the north of England, and married the governor's sister. He died in June, 1624, leaving a widow and four children, Nathaniel, John, Patience, and Ephraim. John, the second son, was an early settler in Middleborough. Ephraim was born on the passage from England; he became a man of considerable distinction in the colony. He was for many successive years, a member of the council of war, and with John Bradford, represented the town of Plymouth in the General Court holden in Boston, after the union with Massachusetts. From this branch is descended Marcus Morton, Esq., now one of the justices of our supreme judicial court, and also Perez Morton, Esq., late attorney General of Massachusetts. Patience Morton married John Faunce, and was the mother of Elder Thomas Faunce. Nathaniel was twelve years old when his father died. He was admitted a freeman in 1625, and the same year was married to Lydia Cooper. In 1645 he was chosen clerk, or secretary of the colony court, and in 1679 he was sworn into office of town clerk. In 1673, his wife died. His second wife, who survived him, was Ann Templar, of Charlestown, a widow. He had eight children, all by his first wife, two sons who died in childhood, and six daughters. All the daughters were married in his lifetime. Two of them, Mercy and Elizabeth, died before their father. The death of Elizabeth, the wife of Nathaniel Bosworth, of Hull, and her *honorable burial* at Plymouth, are mentioned in the old colony records. The four surviving daughters, Remembrance, Lydia, Hannah and Joanna, were married to Abraham Jackson, George Ellison, Isaac Cole, and Joseph Prince. I have seen in the hands of Nathaniel M. Davis, Esq., an original deed executed by the four daughters and their husbands, dated April 6, 1692. The granters describe themselves as the sons-in-law and daughters of the late Nathaniel Morton, and convey 'that tract of land our father lived on, as also the dwelling-house that our father lived in.' This is the estate now belonging to the heirs of the late Deacon Thomas Atwood, near Hobbs' hole brook. It was at his residence, by the side of Willinglys brook, that secretary Morton wrote the New England Memorial, and the church records, and performed many useful labors for posterity. Here, in the goodness of his heart, the venerable man contemplated the providence of God towards his

exiled brethren, and offered his fervent devotions in behalf of the Leyden church.

It was evidently the earnest desire of Mr. Morton to leave a correct history of the New England colonies, for the benefit of future generations, and his station in life afforded him peculiar facilities for the undertaking. He was scrupulously faithful in recording all interesting events and occurrences of his own times, that New England might remember the 'day of her small things,' and that he might contribute his share of original materials for a true and full history. The work is written in a modest simplicity of style, and contains the annals of New England, but with a special reference to Plymouth colony, for the space of forty years. From his sense of religious duty he was induced to take a particular notice and make honorable mention of those eminent christians who finished their course in his day.

The first edition of the Memorial was published in 1669. It was printed in Cambridge, by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, who received for that service a grant of twenty pounds from the colony, and afterwards a small additional gratuity. This work was recommended to public notice by two cotemporary worthies, who in after time have been celebrated as among the greatest divines of New England, Rev. John Higginson of Salem, and Rev. Thomas Thacher of Boston. The Memorial has been a source of resort for all succeeding writers on the same subject. Mr. Prince speaks of Morton's Memorial as the first source of his own information in compiling his invaluable annals. The work, it will be allowed, contains a rich fund of interesting narrative, relative to the early events which ought to be remembered, and every page indicates a mind imbued with the true spirit of piety and benevolence. Although written in plain language, and the facts are unadorned, the solid good sense of the author, and his laudable attachment to all good men, and his love of country, are conspicuous throughout the whole. It must not be denied, however, that on some occasions this good man suffered his mind to be too much swayed by prejudice; but where is the man without the foible incident to our nature? Mr. Morton died at the age of 73, having sustained the office of Secretary of the Courts 40 years, and that of town clerk 6 years, the duties of which he ably and faithfully performed. In the office of town clerk he was succeeded by his nephew, Elder Faunce. Besides preparing the Memorial, he collected various papers of much use to the colony, and the present generation is greatly *indebted to his industry*, and his attention to manuscripts and

dates, and to incidents which occurred in the colonies in the infancy of their existence. The Memorial passed through a second edition in 1721, to which is attached a supplement by Josiah Cotton, Esq. then register of deeds for the county of Plymouth, continuing the account from 1669, to the union of Plymouth colony with Massachusetts. In 1772, a third edition, copied from the second, was printed at Newport, and in 1826, a fourth edition was printed by Allen Danforth, at Plymouth. A fifth edition of this valuable work was published at Boston in 1826, to which are added numerous useful notes, and a copious and interesting appendix by Hon. Judge Davis.

1686.—Mr. Thomas Hinckley was re-elected governor, and William Bradford, deputy governor, from 1682, to the present year.

We have to notice a memorable event of this year. "On the 29th of December, Sir Edmund Andros arrived at Boston, bringing with him an enlarged commission, which vested the government of all the colonies of New England in him as governor, and in a council, nominated by the crown; and in 1688, New York was included in the commission. From the commencement of the year 1687, to the end of April 1689, he exercised a power over these colonies little short of despotic." Governor Hinckley, whose appointment had been superseded by the appointment of Andros, petitioned the king for a redress of grievances; but the petition was totally neglected, and the colonists were smarting under the severity of arbitrary rule until April, 1689, when a rumor reached Boston that the Prince of Orange had landed in England. The smouldering fire burst forth at once, to the utter dismay of the agent of despotism. The people of Massachusetts, without waiting for a confirmation of the report, seized their arms, proclaimed William and Mary King and Queen of England, arrested the governor, and confined him at the Castle, (which they now called Castle William,) compelled him to resign, terminated the government, and restored their old governor, Simon Bradstreet, then at the age of eighty-seven, who was called to the chair, not by the forms of a regular election, but by acclamation. The people at Plymouth, actuated by the same spirit, imprisoned Nathaniel Clark, one of the creatures of Andros and one of his council, and issued the following:—

'A Declaration of sundry inhabitants of Plymouth.—Whereas, we have not only just grounds to suspect, but are well assured that Nathaniel Clark hath been a real enemy to the peace and prosperity of this people, and hath, by lying and false information to the late governor, caused much trouble and damage to

this place, endeavored to deprive us of our lands, and exposed us to the unjust severity of persons ill affected to us, whereby a considerable part of our estates is unrighteously extorted from us, to the great prejudice of our families, and the loss of many necessary comforts, and he persisting, from time to time, in his own malicious forging complaints against one or other of us, whereby we are in continual hazard of many further great inconveniences and mischief. We do, therefore, seize upon his person, resolving to secure him for the hands of justice, to deal with him according to his demerit.'

The seizure of Clark, who was excessively odious for his meanness and rapacity, was the only act of violence committed in the Plymouth colony.

A pamphlet was published in the year 1691, and re-printed by Isaiah Thomas in 1773, bearing the title of "The Revolution in New England justified." "To which is added a narrative of the proceedings of Sir Edmund Andros and his accomplices, by several gentlemen who were of his Council." This pamphlet sets forth numerous atrocious deeds perpetrated by Sir Edmund and his minions, the truth of which appears well substantiated by numerous affidavits. Among the accusations are,—that he actually encouraged the Indians to make war upon the English settlers, and furnished them with powder and balls for that purpose, while at war. This they proved by the declaration of the Indians themselves, and by squaws detected coming directly from the governor's quarters, having those articles in their baskets. That Sir Edmund invited the French to come and take possession of the country, and that preparations were making accordingly. That property was illegally arrested from proprietors, and that arbitrary fines, taxes, and illegal imprisonments were so common that no one could feel secure from arrest of person and property. That when the people complained of grievances it was declared in the governor's Council, "*that the king's subjects in New England did not differ much from slaves, and that the only difference was, that they were not bought and sold.*"

That those who were in confederacy with Sir Edmund Andros, for the enriching themselves on the ruins of New England, did invade the property as well as liberty of the subject, is in the clearest manner proved. They gave out, that *now their charter was gone, all their lands were the king's*, that themselves did represent the king, and that, therefore, men that would have any legal title to their lands must take *patents* of them on such terms as they should see meet to impose. "What people," asks the writer, "that had the spirit of Englishmen, could endure this?" That when they had, at vast

charges of their own, conquered a wilderness, and been in possession of their estates forty, nay sixty years, that now a parcel of strangers, some of them indigent enough, must come and inhabit all that the people now in New England, and their fathers before them, had labored for!

One Nathaniel Clark, of Sir Edmund's council and creatures, desired to have Clark's Island, which belonged to the town of Plymouth, conveyed to him. This was opposed by the town, and their agents obtained a voluntary subscription to bear the cost of the suit, and they were treated as criminals, and against all law compelled to answer in another county, and not in that where the pretended misdemeanor was committed. The Island was, however, conveyed to Clark. The Rev. Mr. Wiswall, minister of Duxbury, by desire of some concerned, transcribed a writing, which tended to clear the right which the town had to the Island; not long after, a messenger was sent to bring him before the governor at Boston, on the 21st of June, 1688; he was then lame in both feet with the gout, unable to move without great pain; he therefore wrote to the governor, praying that he might be excused until he should be able to travel, and engaged that then he would attend any court; but the next week an officer, by an express order from Sir Edmund, forced him to ride in that condition, being shod with clouts instead of shoes; and when he came before the Council, he was made to stand till the anguish had almost overcome him. Being at length dismissed from the Council, the messenger came and told him he must go to gaol, or enter into bonds for his appearance at the next court in Boston, and pay down £4 2s. in silver. His sickness forced him to decline a prison, and to pay the money. At the next superior court he appeared in the same lame and sick condition, and the extremity of the weather caused such a violent fit of sickness, that he was nigh unto death, and he thought that he should soon be out of their bonds, and at liberty to lay his information against his oppressors before the righteous judge of the whole world. After all this he was forced a third time out of his own county and colony, near 40 miles, and was delivered from the hands and humors of his tyrannical oppressors, who had exposed him to great difficulties and charges, and to 228 miles travel, to and from Boston, where he never ought to be called for trial, even had he been guilty of the *pretended misdemeanors*, which his worst enemies had not the face to read in open court, or openly to charge him with.

The following sketch of the character of Nathaniel Clark, compiled chiefly from the papers of the late Isaac Goodwin, Esq., will not be out of place in this connexion. It will serve

to show that our puritan fathers could defeat and overthrow by their determined and irresistible energies the selfish views of a corrupt and unprincipled man.

Nathaniel Clark was born in Plymouth, in the year 1644, was the son of Thomas Clark, who died in 1697 at the advanced age of 98 years, and whose grave stone is among the oldest on our burying hill. He was educated in his native town by secretary Morton, and after the death of his patron in 1685, he succeeded him in the office which had been so honorably filled. Besides preserving a register of the legislative proceedings of the colony, the duties of Clerk of the Courts, Register of Deeds and of Probate were all performed by the secretary of that famous republic. An office of such importance in that day necessarily attracted to it much political influence, and its emoluments were not undeserving the attention of the worldly minded and ambitious. Unfortunately for the reputation of Nathaniel Clark, his lot seemed to be cast in a season of peculiar temptations, and the principles of his early education formed but a feeble barrier against its assaults. The humble colonists of New England were just recovering from the scourge of an unprecedented Indian war waged for the extermination of Philip and his allies. At this gloomy period, their charters were vacated by writs of 'quo warranto' from the star-chamber, and Sir Edmund Andros, a fit tool to execute the obnoxious measures of a tyrant, was sent from England to take the head of the government here. He arrived in Boston in the month of December, 1686, and commenced his odious administration by depriving the people of the privilege of choosing their representatives, by prohibiting town-meetings, excepting for the purpose of aiding him in the collection of such taxes as he strove to draw from their limited and scanty resources. The press was to be silenced, and he had orders to maintain such a military force as would enable him to execute his decrees at the point of the bayonet. Judge Sewall, who lived in Boston, and was there at the time Andros arrived, notes in his Diary, December 24, 1686, "about sixty red coats are brought to town, landed at Mr. Pool's wharf, where they drew up and so marched to Mr. Gibbs' house at Fort Hill." The simplicity of puritan habits was grossly scandalized by an introduction of false splendor in living, and a feeble imitation of the manners and customs of the great, the irreligious, and the worldly. In the selection of his council, Sir E. Andros made choice, with few exceptions, of such of the citizens as he thought would be obsequious to his will and ready to execute his mandates. Besides two whom he brought with him, the council consisted of 37 members—appointed from the different colonies in the following proportion:

From Massachusetts	10
New York	8
Plymouth	7
• Rhode Island	6
• Connecticut	4
New Hampshire	2
From the Plymouth colony the following gentlemen were appointed:	

Thomas Hinckley,
 Barnabas Lothrop,
 William Bradford,
 Daniel Smith,
 John Sprague,
 John Walley,
 Nathaniel Clark.

The unprincipled profligacy of the minions of Andros would have been ill repaid by grants of uncultivated land in the wilderness; hence, resorting to one of the most odious doctrines of the Feudal system, he declared, that as the charters were vacated, all the lands had reverted to the King, as the Lord paramount of the soil, and he, as viceroy of his majesty, would proceed to parcel them out anew. To preserve a semblance of justice, he offered to confirm the titles of such as would make speedy application, but his grants were so encumbered with fines, forfeitures and fees, that it was estimated there was not personal property enough in the country to supply his exactions for these purposes. During the rising indignation of an oppressed people, he began to make his peace by dealing out large tracts of land to such of his followers as would subserve his interest. Among these was the subject of this notice,—who was no sooner called to the council board at Boston, than he was found to be sufficiently yielding to all the wishes of his master.

The Island in Plymouth harbor, called Clark's Island, contains a little more than 80 acres of fertile land. It was upon this Island that the first Christian sabbath was kept in New England, for it was the earliest resting place of the Pilgrims from amidst the storm which they encountered on the night of Friday, December 18, 1620, while coasting along the bay in their little shallop, before their final landing. These circumstances may have led our fathers to attach a superstitious reverence to this spot. It was neither sold nor allotted in any of the early divisions of the lands, but was reserved for the benefit of the poor of the town, to furnish them with wood and with pasture for their cattle.

The avarice of counsellor Clark was attracted to this Island, —the hallowed ark that had rescued his fathers from the mingled horrors of a night storm, upon an inclement and unknown shore, and in succeeding years the support of the destitute and the wretched. His master made the wished for grant, and accordingly on the 3d of March, 1687-8, it was surveyed and laid out for his use. Immediately, in defiance of arbitrary threatenings, and the heaviest denunciations, a town-meeting was called, and a firm and united resolution was adopted, to reclaim the Island at every hazard. A committee was chosen to collect subscriptions to defray the expenses. Amidst the indignation of his townsmen and neighbors, 'the secretary stood alone.' He immediately arrested the committee for levying taxes upon his majesty's subjects, and they, together with the town clerk and minister of Duxbury, were bound over to the Supreme Court at Boston.

The following letter from Rev. John Cotton, then pastor of the church at Plymouth, to Rev. Mr. Mather of Boston, is feelingly descriptive of these scenes.

Plymouth, July 9, 1688.

"Awful and considerable changes have attended poor Plymouth since your departure from the Gurnet, by reason of the motions about Clark's island. The committee chosen about that affair were at so much charge as necessitated our people to engage, by free and voluntary subscriptions, to re-imburse them, and to vote the securing some lands till the money was paid them. For this (*****) *telches*, the committee with a writ, charging that they had resolved and raised money upon his majesty's subjects contrary to law, and the town clerk, godly Elder Faunce, for calling the vote, and Mr. Wiswall for writing the paper, £3 7s. each, beside their expenses, and all were bound over to the Superior Court at Boston, where they are all likely to be considerably fined, besides costs of court, &c."

But the reign of tyranny was short. A report of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England reached America early in the year 1689, but before the news of the entire and glorious revolution there had arrived in Boston, Andros was seized and imprisoned by the inhabitants of that town. This took place on the morning of the 18th of April, and William and Mary were proclaimed in Boston on the 29th of the month following. The people of Plymouth at the same time declared their detestation of Counsellor Clark by a spirited manifesto, which bears date April 22d, 1689, setting forth his oppressions and his crimes, and declaring that they seized upon his person, resolving to secure him for the hands of justice to deal with him ac-

cording to his demerit. He was accordingly imprisoned and put in irons, and the next year sent with Andros, his master, in the same ship to England. The government there were not disposed to view their officers in the same light, and they were soon liberated and rewarded for their services in the cause of the British monarch. Nearly a century rolled away, and this account was fully settled, between the injured colonists and their royal masters,—in several distinct payments, the first of which was made on the 19th of April, 1775. Clark, laden with the rewards of his perfidy and baseness, returned to his native town. Under the new charter regular courts were established, and the counsellor began the practice of the law. The sacredness of those august tribunals could not shield him from obloquy and merited insult. Even his domestic misfortunes were not forgotten. At an early period of his life, his wife had obtained a divorce from him, but after his return, laden with the spoils of tyranny, which enabled them to move in the higher circles of domestic life, she again became united to him, and these facts, clothed in epigrammatic style, were noted on the blank leaves of the books of authorities which he carried with him into court. Tradition has faithfully preserved these memorials of the domestic character of the counsellor,—and this illustrates and enforces a venerable maxim, that “the way of transgressors is hard.”

The residence of Mr. Clark was on the spot which is now occupied by the house of the late Judge Thomas, on the west side of the main street in Plymouth. It was here that he died, January 31, 1717, in the 74th year of his age; and a simple slate stone with the following inscription still marks the spot on the burying hill in Plymouth where the remains of the counsellor were deposited.

“ Here lies buried
the body of

NATHANIEL CLARK, Esq.
who died January 31, 1717,
in the 74th year of his age.”

The following notice, from the ecclesiastical records of those times, shows still more fully the character of the counsellor in the domestic relation, and the reputation which he sustained in the venerable church of Plymouth.

‘ The elder, speaking a few serious words to Nathaniel Clark, a child of the church, he broke forth into a wicked passion and spoke vile words, intimating as if the church would clear the guilty and condemn the innocent; abusing also Paul’s words to the maniacs, as if it were better and nearer to salvation to be out of *such a church* than in it, &c. Being, at another time,

called before the church, he answered that he would not come, that he had nothing to say to them, nor would he have anything to do with them; two of the brethren were desired to call on him, but he refused to attend to their admonition, and at length, absenting himself from public worship and from the meeting of the church, he was judged worthy to be rejected, and it was accordingly voted unanimously that he be disowned.'

1686.—This year died at Duxbury, John Alden, aged 89 years, one of the Pilgrims of the Mayflower, and believed to have been at the time of his death, the last surviving signer of the original compact of Government. He was born in England in 1597. On his arrival, he resided the first seven years in Plymouth, and owned a considerable tract of land where the Iron factory now stands. He afterwards removed to Duxbury, and took up 169 acres of land in one body, where he spent the residue of his days. He was, for many years, deeply engaged in the public concerns of the colony; being elected an assistant as early as 1633, and continued in that office, with but little interruption, until the time of his death.

After the death of Captain Standish, he was for some time treasurer of the colony. He possessed much native talent, was decided, ardent, resolute, and persevering, indifferent to danger, a bold and hardy man, stern, austere, and unyielding; of exemplary piety, and of incorruptible integrity; "an iron-nerved puritan, who could hew down forests and live on crumbs." He hated innovations and changes, steadily walked in the ways of his youth, and adhered to the principles and habits of those whom he had been taught to honor. The uncertainty of his claim to the honor of being the first to leap on the Plymouth rock has been noticed in page 31. He married Priscilla Mullins, and the following pleasant anecdote respecting his good fortune in obtaining the hand of that lady, whom he was commissioned to solicit for his friend Captain Standish, is related by Rev. Timothy Alden, in his collection of American epitaphs, as having been carefully handed down by tradition. "In a very short time after the decease of Mrs. Standish, the captain was led to think, that if he could obtain Miss Priscilla Mullins, a daughter of Mr. William Mullins, the breach in his family would be happily repaired. He therefore, according to the custom of those times, sent to ask Mr. Mullins's permission to visit his daughter. John Alden, the messenger, went and faithfully communicated the wishes of the captain. The old gentleman did not object, as he might have done on account of the recency of Captain Standish's bereavement. He said it was perfectly agreeable to him, but the *young lady must also be consulted*. The damsel was called

into the room, and John Alden, who is said to have been a man of most excellent form, with a fair and ruddy complexion, arose, and in a very courteous and prepossessing manner delivered his errand. Miss Mullins listened with respectful attention, and at last, after a considerable pause, fixing her eyes upon him with an open and pleasant countenance, said '*prihee John why do you not speak for yourself?*' He blushed and bowed, and took his leave, but with a look which indicated more than his diffidence would permit him otherwise to express. However, he renewed his visit, and it was not long before their nuptials were celebrated in ample form." What report he made to his constituent, after the first interview, tradition does not unfold, but it is said, how true the writer knows not, that the captain never forgave him to the day of his death. From this union descended all of the name in the United States. They had four sons, viz. John, David, Joseph and Jonathan. John lived in Boston, and commanded the armed sloop belonging to Massachusetts. He received unwarrantable and abusive treatment, at the time of the Salem witchcraft, by being summoned before the magistrate on that occasion, and imprisoned. He died in 1702, without issue. Joseph settled in Bridgewater; David resided in Duxbury, and was often chosen a deputy to the General Court. He had two sons, Benjamin and Samuel. Benjamin had four sons, David, Bezaliel, Wrestling and Abiather. Jonathan, son of the first John, occupied the paternal estate at Duxbury, and had three sons, Andrew, Jonathan and John. This John, the youngest, was much employed in public affairs, was often a member of the Gen. Court and Colonel of Militia. He inherited the homestead estate in Duxbury; his sons were John; Samuel, who died in England without issue; Judah, who married a Miss Row in Boston, and died on his passage to Glasgow soon after; Briggs, who died October, 1796. He was for several years chosen representative to the General Court, and was much respected as a patriot and citizen. Andrew Alden, the son of Jonathan, settled in Lebanon, Connecticut; he had three sons, John, Judah, and Roger.—Judah was a captain in the Revolutionary army, a brave and intelligent officer, but was taken prisoner and died in the hands of the enemy. Roger Alden graduated at Yale College, was for some time secretary to General Washington, and afterwards aid de camp to General Huntington. He is now Postmaster, and superintendent of military stores at West Point. A son of David Alden, whose name was Samuel, lived in Duxbury, and died at the age of 93; he was the father of Colonel Ichabod Alden, of the Revolutionary army, who was killed by the

savages in Cherry Valley, in 1778. One of Jonathan Alden's daughters married Mr. Bass, of Braintree; one married Josiah, a son of the warrior Miles Standish; the other married Samuel Delano, a son of the early pilgrims.

Mrs. Bass was a maternal ancestor of two Presidents of the United States, John Adams and John Q. Adams. Many excellent citizens may be enumerated among the descendants of John Alden. Judah Alden, Esq. who possesses the paternal domain of his great ancestor, at Duxbury, was a valiant officer in the American army during the eight years of the revolutionary struggle, and is now President of the Massachusetts Society of Cincinnati.

The Rev. Timothy Alden, late minister of Yarmouth, and his son Timothy, late President of Meadville College, in Pennsylvania, were of this descent.

1687.—The town voted to regulate the price of grain, for the payment of salaries. Tar was made in great abundance, and disposed of in payment of salaries. Shingles and clapboards were considerable articles of traffic; but furs and peltry were the principal, as in all new countries. In town-meeting, January 23d, was read an order from his excellency to substantiate their title to Clark's Island, which had never before been called in question. This occasioned great excitement, and the town firmly resolved to defend their right to said Island to the utmost of their power, and chose a committee to act in behalf of the town accordingly; and voted, also, that the town will defray the expense, and a tax of ten pounds in silver money was ordered forthwith for that purpose.—See account of Nathaniel Clark, 1689, June 22d. It was agreed to make sale of Clark's Island, Saquish, the Gurnet, and a certain cedar swamp called Colchester Swamp, to help defray the above mentioned charges. Clark's Island was sold to Samuel Lucas, Elkenah Watson, and George Morton, in 1690. At that period, under the government of Andros, the titles to real estate were frequently called in question throughout New England, by which many individuals were grievous sufferers.

1690.—The general court of elections assembled at Plymouth, as formerly, on the first Tuesday of June. Thomas Hinckley was again elected governor, and William Bradford deputy governor. The deputies from Plymouth were John Bradford and Isaac Cushman. In August, the same year, another was called to which the same deputies were re-elected.

It was now a very desirable object with the colonial government to procure a charter for the colony, and they appointed the following persons as agents to apply to the English government for said charter: Sir Henry Ashurst, of England, Rev.

Increase Mather, and Rev. Ichabod Wiswall, minister of Duxbury. In February the town of Plymouth voted their acceptance of the three agents above mentioned, and also voted that it was their desire that the utmost endeavors be made to obtain a charter of his majesty, that we might be and continue a government as formerly. It was further voted that they would be held for their proportion of £500, and more if need require, for that purpose, and at the same time agreed to raise their proportion of £200 in advance, to be sent to the gentlemen empowered as agents. It was known to have been in contemplation by the English government to annex Plymouth colony to that of New York, and there was some misunderstanding among the agents on that subject, but the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather had the credit of preventing that annexation taking place.

1691.—The General Court voted their thanks to Sir H. Ashurst, Rev. Mr. Mather, and Rev. Mr. Wiswall; and to Sir H. Ashurst a grant of 50 guineas, and Mr. Mather and Mr. Wiswall 25 guineas each for their services. A charter was at length obtained for Massachusetts, which was signed October 7, 1691, and Plymouth was annexed to it. Had the sum of £500 been raised and properly applied, a separate charter would probably have been obtained.

The last court of election was holden at Plymouth in June, 1691, the deputies from Plymouth were John Bradford and Isaac Cushman. Mr. Hinckley was re-elected governor, and William Bradford, deputy governor.

1692.—Sir William Phipps, Kt., arrived at Boston, with the new charter, on the 14th of May. He was commissioned governor-in-chief in their majesty's name, William and Mary, and summoned a court on the 8th of June. The new province of Massachusetts's Bay proceeded to exercise their charter authority, and the amalgamation of the two colonies was soon perfected. By the new charter, Plymouth colony was entitled to four counsellors. Those who were named for this purpose in the charter were Thomas Hinckley, William Bradford, John Walley, and Barnabas Lothrop. The qualifications of electors, according to that warrant, was "a freehold of 40 shillings per ann. or other property of the value of £40 sterling. The old General Court, however, was summoned, and met at Plymouth on the first Tuesday of July, and exercised their power for the last time by appointing the last Wednesday of the following August to be kept as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation. It appears that some distinguished individuals were dissatisfied with the union of the two colonies, but Governor Hinckley was well reconciled to the measure, and it is clearly understood that

the union was at no period a subject of regret with the people generally. Governor Hinckley sustained the office of governor for 12 years, and was in that office when the union took place. He died and was buried at Barnstable, and the following lines are inscribed on his tomb-stone. "Beneath this stone, erected A. D. 1829, are deposited the mortal remains of Thomas Hinckley. He died A. D. 1706, aged 85 years. History bears witness to his piety, usefulness, and agency in the public transactions of his time. The important offices he was called to fill evidence the esteem in which he was held by the people. He was successively elected an assistant in the government of Plymouth colony, from 1658 to 1681, and governor, except during the interruption by Sir Edmund Andros, from 1681 to the junction of Plymouth colony with Massachusetts, in 1692."

The children of Governor Hinckley were one son, Ebenezer, and five daughters, one of whom, Mary, was married in 1686 to Samuel Prince, of Sandwich, father of the chronologist.

The first General Court, under the new charter, June 8th, passed an act, declaring that all the laws of the colony of Massachusetts bay and the colony of New Plymouth, not being repugnant to the laws of England, nor inconsistent with the charter, should be in force, in the respective colonies, until the 10th of November, 1692, excepting where other provision should be made by act of assembly.

*Governors of the Colony of Plymouth from 1620 to 1692.**

- 1620, John Carver, four months and 24 days.
- 1621, William Bradford.
- 1633, Edward Winslow.
- 1634, Thomas Prince.
- 1635, William Bradford.
- 1636, Edward Winslow.
- 1637, William Bradford.
- 1638, Thomas Prince.
- 1639, William Bradford.
- 1644, Edward Winslow, 3 years.
- 1645, William Bradford, 31 years.
- 1657, Thomas Prince, 18 years.
- 1673, Josiah Winslow, 7 years.
- 1680 to 1692, Thomas Hinckley, 12 years, including several years interruption by Andros.

There was no Lieutenant Governor till 1680. Before that

* *The first record of the election of any governor is in 1633.*

period, the governor, when obliged to be absent, appointed one pro tempore. The names of the lieutenant governors were as follows :

Thomas Hinckley, 1680.

James Cudworth, 1681.

Major William Bradford, 1682 to 1686, & 1689 to 1691.

There was no Secretary previous to 1636; but the records appear to have been previously kept by the governors. The hand-writing of Governor Bradford is very legible, and resembles a modern hand.

The first Secretary was Nathaniel Souther.

The second, Nathaniel Morton, from 1645 to 1685.

The third, Nathaniel Thomas, 1686.

The fourth and last, Samuel Sprague, who, except the interruption by Andros, continued till the union of the colonies.

The Treasurers were William Paddy, in 1636.

Thomas Prince, in 1637.

Timothy Hatherly, in 1639.

Jonathan Atwood, in 1641.

Miles Standish, 1644 to 1649.

John Alden, 3 years.

Constant Southworth, 1662 to 1678.

Afterwards, William Bradford.

There was no Sheriff till 1685. Writs and precepts were served originally by an officer, styled Messenger. In 1645, he was styled Marshall, and had the power of appointing deputies. Constables, however, were chosen in each town, with power to execute precepts, and collect rates. Upon the division of the colony into counties, sheriffs were appointed. A coroner was appointed at the beginning of the colony, but the office was soon abolished, and the duty of taking inquisitions devolved on the constables. There was no distinct office of register of deeds, or of wills and inventories, but those duties were performed by the secretary of the colony. This accounts for these records being blended with the other records of the government. Till 1685, the court of assistants was the only judicial court, except that the selectmen of the towns had the power of trying small causes. The assistants also formed a part of the legislature.

The following is a correct list of Representatives from the Town of Plymouth in the general court of Plymouth Colony, from 1639 to 1692.

1639	William Paddy, Manasseh Kempton, Jr.	1639	John Cook, Jr. John Dunham.
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1640	The same re-elected.		John Cook,
1641	John Atwood,		John Winslow.
	William Paddy,	1655	John Howland,
	John Jenney,		John Dunham,
	John Howland.		John Cook,
1642	John Doane,		Thomas Clark.
	John Cook.	1656	William Bradford,
1643	The same re-elected.		Robert Finney,
1644	The same re-elected.		Ephraim Morton.
1645	William Paddy	1657	* * * * *
	John Cook,	1658	Robert Finney,
	Manasseh Kempton,		John Howland,
	John Dunham, senior.		Nathaniel Warren.
1646	John Howland,	1659	Robert Finney
	John Cook,		Nathaniel Warren,
	Manasseh Kempton,		John Dunham,
	John Dunham.		Ephraim Morton.
1647	John Howland,	1660	John Dunham,
	John Dunham,		Robert Finney,
	William Paddy,		Ephraim Morton,
	John Hust.		Manasseh Kempton.
1648	The same, except M.	1661	John Dunham,
	Kempton in the place of		Ephraim Morton,
	Hust.		John Howland,
1649	John Howland,		Nathaniel Warren.
	John Dunham,	1662	John Dunham,
	William Paddy,		Ephraim Morton,
	Manasseh Kempton.		Robert Finney,
1650	John Howland,		John Morton.
	John Dunham,	1663	Robert Finney,
	Manasseh Kempton.		Ephraim Morton,
1651	John Howland,		John Howland,
	Manasseh Kempton,		Nathaniel Warren.
	Thomas Southworth,	1664	Robert Finney,
	Thomas Clark.		Ephraim Morton,
1652	John Howland,		John Dunham,
	John Wilson,		Nathaniel Warren.
	John Dunham,	1665	Ephraim Morton,
	Thomas Southworth.		Nathaniel Warren.
1653	John Howland,	1666	Ephraim Morton,
	Lieutenant Southworth,		John Howland.
	John Dunham,	1667	Same as last year.
	John Cook.	1668	Ephraim Morton,
1654	John Howland,		Samuel Dunham.
	Lieut. Thomas South-	1669	Ephraim Morton,
	worth,		Robert Finney.

1670	Ephraim Morton, John Howland.	1678	Joseph Howland. Ephraim Morton,
1671	Ephraim Morton, Robert Finney.		Joseph Howland.
1672	The same.	1679	Ephraim Morton, Edward Gray.
1673	Ephraim Morton, Mr. S. Crow.	1680	Ephraim Morton, William Clark.
1674	Ephraim Morton, William Clark.	1681	Ephraim Morton, Joseph Warren.
1675	Lieut. Ephraim Morton, Sergeant William Harlow.	1682	Same as last year.
1676	Ephraim Morton, Edward Gray.	1683	Same re-elected.
1677	Edward Gray,	1684	Same re-elected.
		1685	Same re-elected.
		1686	Same re-elected.

The following were the Town Clerks of Plymouth to the present time.

Nathaniel Morton from 1679 to 1685.

Thomas Faunce from 1685 to 1723.

John Dyer from 1723 to 1731, and from 1733 to 1738.

Gershom Foster 1732.

Edward Winslow 1740 and 1741.

Samuel Bartlett from 1742 to 1765.

John Cotton 1766.

Ephraim Spooner from 1767 to 1818.

Thomas Drew from 1818.

The proper bounds of Plymouth township, according to the patent, extended southward to the bounds of Sandwich township, and northward to a little brook running from Stephen Tracy's to another little brook falling into black water from the commons left to Duxbury, and westward eight miles up into the lands from any part of the bay or sea; 'always provided that the said bounds shall extend so far up into the wood lands as to include the south meadows towards Agawam, lately discovered, and the convenient uplands thereabouts.'

The first division of lands made by the settlers was in the year 1623, when they granted to each Free-holder a house lot, of from one to seven acres: in proportion to the number in each family. These lots were located on both sides of the town brook and consisted mostly of cleared land, being the ancient Indian corn land. The second division of land, was agreed on January 3d, 1627, when each free-holder was granted a 20 acre lot, which was mostly laid out near the centre of the town, but some lots were at Eel river, for the convenience of the inhabitants located there. After the grants of the first 20 acre lots, from

the year 1636 to 1650 lands were granted and laid out in different parts of the town, in lots from 5 to 100 acres, to freemen, and from 1636 to 1680, lands were granted and laid out in almost every part of the colony, from 50 to 500 acres, before the incorporation of towns, and most of the salt meadows were also granted in divided lots. In 1640, Jones's river meadow was granted to 8 men. This meadow lies in the northeasterly part of Plympton, and south-easterly part of Kingston. The same year, the south meadows in the southerly part of Carver, were granted to 18 men, and Doten's meadow, situated in the north-westerly part of Carver, was granted to 5 men. In town-meeting, February 9th, 1701, the inhabitants voted, that each and every proprietor of said town shall have a 30 acre lot, out of the common lands belonging to the town. At this time there were 201 proprietors in the township. In 1701-2, it was voted in town-meeting, that a mile and a half from the water side up into the woods, from John Cobb's to Joseph Churchill's land, shall lye common, for the use of the town. The true bounds of this common were from the centre of the town by the shore three quarters of a mile northerly, thence south west a mile and a half into the woods, thence east a mile and a half crossing Billington sea and south pond, thence north easterly a mile and a half to the sea shore, thence north-westerly by the shore three quarters of a mile to the first bounds. In 1702, it was voted that all the cedar swamp throughout the township should be divided and laid out, according to the directions following, that is to say, all old proprietors and other inhabitants of the age of 21 years that are free-holders and house keepers born within the town, shall have each of them, a full share. Other inhabitants male children born in the town, and who now reside in it, and have arrived at the age of 21 years, shall have, each, half a share. All such inhabitants as succeed any of the ancient proprietors to have a full share, unless such ancient inhabitants have a son come in upon his father's right, and no person shall have more than a single share, though he may have more old proprietor's rights than one. The children of persons who are dead, and under the age of 21 years, shall have the right that was their father's, but no person, upon any pretence, whatever, shall have any share unless he reside now in the town. All the cedar swamps in the ancient town of Plymouth were surveyed, planned, and divided into 39 great lots, in 1703 and 1705, and the proprietors drew lots for their shares. In 1706, at a town-meeting, Plympton was set off from Plymouth and made a township, and the proprietors of both towns were styled the propriety of Plymouth and Plympton. At a meeting of the proprietors

February 9th, 1709, it was voted that all the common lands not before granted, should be laid out in ten great lots, and the surveyors to determine how many shares shall be in each lot. These ten great lots contained more than 30,000 acres. There were 21 proprietors to the first great lot. At a proprietor's meeting in May, 1712, they granted on the petition of some Indians, 200 acres of proprietors' land at Fresh Pond, in Monument ponds parish, to be under the particular care and direction of the selectmen of the town. The town sold 100 acres of this land in the year 1800.

Census of the town of Plymouth at early periods, 1643, Males from 16 to 60 years, capable of bearing arms, 146. —

1646. Freemen and townsmen (voters,) 79.

1670. Freemen, 51.

1683-4. Freemen, 55.

1689. Freemen, 75.

There is a melancholy grandeur in contemplating the extinction of this novel and primitive government which was founded and continued in existence under circumstances without a parallel in the annals of history, for a period of 71 years, presenting to the world an illustrious example of sacrifices cheerfully made in behalf of the highest blessings,—christian and civil liberty, and equality.

I cannot omit to introduce here the noble patriot sentiments of the late excellent President Dwight, who expresses himself in the following eloquent language.* 'Plymouth was the first town built in New England by civilized man; and those by whom it was built were inferior in worth to no body of men, whose names are recorded in history during the last seventeen hundred years. A kind of venerableness, arising from these facts, attaches to this town, which may be termed a prejudice. Still, it has its foundation in the nature of man, and will never be eradicated either by philosophy or ridicule. No New-Englander, who is willing to indulge his native feelings, can stand upon the rock, where our ancestors set the first foot after their arrival on the American shore, without experiencing emotions very different from those which are excited by any common object

* President Dwight, formerly of Yale College, undertook a travelling excursion through New England and New York, at the early part of the present century. He estimated the extent of his labors at 15,000 miles. In 1822, he published, in four octavo volumes, the result of his observations. On the subjects of antiquity he dwelt with unceasing enthusiasm, and his volumes are replete with historical, statistical, religious, moral and philosophical information, and anecdotes of unrivalled interest and utility.

of the same nature. No New Englander could be willing to have that rock buried and forgotten. Let him reason as much, as coldly, and as ingeniously as he pleases, he will still regard that spot with emotions wholly different from those which are excited by other places of equal or even superior importance. For myself, I cannot wish this trait in the human character obliterated. In a higher state of being, where truth is universally as well as cordially embraced, and virtue controls without a rival, this prejudice, if it must be called by that name, will become useless, and may, therefore, be safely discarded. But in our present condition every attachment, which is innocent, has its use, and contributes both to fix and to soften man.' Speaking of our ancestors, he says, 'But when I call to mind the history of their sufferings on both sides of the Atlantic, when I remember their pre-eminent patience, their unspotted piety, their immoveable fortitude, their undaunted resolution, their love to each other, their justice and humanity to the savages and their freedom from all those stains which elsewhere spotted the character even of their companions in affliction, I cannot but view them as illustrious brothers, claiming the veneration and applause of all their posterity. By me the names of Carver, Bradford, Cushman, and Standish, will never be forgotten, until I lose the power of recollection.' * * *

'The institutions, civil, literary and religious, by which New England is distinguished on this side the Atlantic, began here. Here the manner of holding lands in free soccage, now universal in this country, commenced. Here the right of suffrage was imparted to every citizen, to every inhabitant not disqualified by poverty or vice. Here was formed the first establishment of towns, of the local legislature, which is called a town meeting, and of the peculiar town executive, styled the selectmen. Here the first parochial school was set up, and the system originated for communicating to every child in the community the knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Here, also, the first building was erected for the worship of God; the first religious assembly gathered; and the first minister called and settled, by the voice of the church and congregation. On these simple foundations has since been erected a structure of good order, peace, liberty, knowledge, morals and religion, with which nothing on this side the Atlantic can bear a remote comparison.

PART II.



HAVING closed the first part of our history, and shown that the primitive colonial charter and government were abrogated in 1692, we now commence a new epoch, and our future details will pertain to the town as a constituent of the British Province of Massachusetts Bay, and after our Independence in 1776, a prouder and more glorious designation, the *United States of America*. By the new charter the Province embraced the whole of old Massachusetts colony, to which were added the colony of Plymouth, the Province of Maine, the Province of Nova-Scotia, and all the country between the Province of Maine and Nova-Scotia; also Elizabeth island and the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard.

The representative from Plymouth to the General Court in 1693 was John Nelson, and in 1694 William Shurtleff.

1696.—A French privateer, fitted out at Bourdeaux, cruising on the American coast, was wrecked in Buzzard's Bay. The crew were carried prisoners to Boston; the surgeon, Dr. Francis LeBaron, came to Plymouth, and having performed a surgical operation, and the town being at that time destitute of a physician, the selectmen petitioned the executive, Lieut. Governor Stoughton, for his liberation, that he might settle in this town. This was granted, and he married Mary Wilder, and practised physic here during life, but died in 1704, at the early age of 36 years. Dr. LeBaron did not relinquish the Roman Catholic Religion, and was so strongly attached to the cross, that he never retired to rest without placing it on his breast.

This constantly reminded the people of a religion which they abhorred, and which they were scarcely willing to tolerate in a single instance. He made a donation of ninety acres of wood land to the town. His son, Lazarus, studied medicine, and enjoyed an extensive course of practice in Plymouth and its vicinity, and died lamented in 1773, aged 75 years. Two of his sons, Joseph and Lazarus, were also physicians, both of whom, after residing a short period in the West Indies returned to their native town, where they died, as did three other of his sons, viz. Bartlett, William and Isaac. The only surviving son is Rev. Lemuel LeBaron, minister of a church and society at Mattapoiset, (Rochester,) where he was ordained in 1772. From this stock, all that bear the name of LeBaron in this country are descended, and they are numerous and respectable.

The town agreed to pay to Rev. Mr. Cotton £75 in silver money for his salary the present year, with which he was well satisfied. They agreed also to pay the school-master £33, and to the French Doctor for curing Hunter's wife, £5.

1697.—March 24. Died, Thomas Clark, aged 98 years. It is a well received tradition that this ancient man was the mate of the Mayflower, and the one who first landed on the Island in Plymouth harbor which bears his name. Little is known of the life and circumstances of the mate of the Mayflower; his name is not among the signers of the original compact, nor mentioned among the first settlers. It may therefore be conjectured, that he was considered merely as an officer of the ship, and that he returned to England in her with Captain Jones, and subsequently came over and settled in this town. We find his name among those who received allotments of land in 1624; and he also shared in the division of cattle in 1627. He resided at Eel River, and it is supposed that his family were among the sufferers in the house of William Clark, when attacked by a party of savages, March 12, 1676. He being himself absent at meeting escaped, while eleven others were massacred and his son tomahawked, who ever after wore a silver plate on his head from which he was called silver head Tom. See page 390. Numerous lineal descendants from Thomas Clark now reside at Eel river in this town, and in other parts of the Old Colony. There is a handsome China mug whose pedigree is traced through the Clark family back to Thomas Clark, which had been presented to the cabinet of the Pilgrim Society by Betsey B. Morton a descendant, and also a leathern pocket-book with the initials T. C. impressed on its cover, presented by Amasa Clark. These relics afford additional evidence that the mate of the Mayflower died in this town, and that his ashes rest in the grave in our burial place designated by a stone with the following inscription. Here lyes ye body of Mr. Thomas Clark, aged 98 years. Departed this life March 24, 1697.

1698.—The town agreed with Abraham Jackson to ring the bell and sweep the meeting-house and see to locking the doors and fastening the windows for one year, for one pound and ten shillings.

1701.—A canal or water course, was cut, to convey the water from South Pond to the head of Eel river, about half a mile distant, the object being to form an artificial passage for alewives from the sea into the pond; but the project proved unsuccessful. Elder Faunce was the leader in this project, and as the water course crosses the road, we are, in passing, reminded of the venerable man whom we delight to bring to recollection.

1702-3. Liberty was granted to Major John Bradford to milk the pine trees upon the town's common, from the head of Blackwater, and from Duxbury bounds to Jones's river; he had liberty to employ two strangers, lately come from the westward, upon said commons within said limits, 'upon condition that said Bradford doth give in bonds to the selectmen to secure the town from any charge that may fall on said town by said persons, and do also instruct any of the inhabitants in what skill said strangers hath in milking the pines so far as they are capable of instructing in said art. This year, ministerial lands, a burial ground, and a training field, were laid out, at a place called the upper society. The south part was then called Samson's country, from a noted Sachem who resided there.

1706.—*Plympton set off from Plymouth.* The north western parish of Plymouth was incorporated November 26, 1695. At a town-meeting March 1706-7, it was voted that the town consent that the north parish be a township, in compliance with their petition to the town, with this proviso, that all real estate now belonging to, or which shall be improved by any in the old town, either by himself or tenant during their living here, shall be rated here, notwithstanding there being a separate town, and so the like of any estate that belongeth to any of them that lyeth in the old town of Plymouth.

1707.—The town was presented at the quarter sessions held at Plymouth on the third Tuesday of December, for their neglect in not keeping the bridge over Jones's river in repair; the town in full meeting voted that it is a great burden and charge to maintain two bridges over the said river when one might answer, that application be made to the county court, and to the court of the county of Barnstable, who are equally concerned in keeping the said bridge in repair, that a bridge might be built higher up the river, and they made choice of James Warren and Nathaniel Thomas, Jr. as the town agents, for the purpose of negotiating the business.*

1710-11.—March 21st, in town-meeting, it was voted, that all the land lying to the northward of the range of the land between Samuel Harlow's and John Barnes's, that is to say, to run up the same point of compass said range of Harlow's and

* Jones's river crosses the public road at the south part of Kingston, and, as is supposed, received its name from Captain Jones of the Mayflower. In exploring the neighboring lands and streams, this river was discovered; at which time, it is probable, the name which it bears was given to it in compliment to the captain. As the county of Barnstable was, for many years, included in the Old Colony of Plymouth, it was equally concerned in maintaining the roads and bridges throughout the colony.

Barnes's to the top of the hill, and all the land to the northward of that range shall be for a perpetual common or training place, never to be granted any part thereof, but lay perpetually for the public and common benefit.

1711.—A plan for forming an oyster bed in Plymouth harbor was projected by a company of thirty-one persons, whose names are on record. Oysters were procured and deposited in a certain place, deemed the most eligible, with the hope that they might be thus propagated; but it was ascertained by the experiment, that the flats are left dry too long for their habit, which requires that they be covered at all times by water.

1715.—March 21, at a town-meeting it was proposed to build a cart bridge over Jones's river, near Jacob Cook's. Major John Bradford proposed to give towards the building said bridge what stone were on his land that were suitable for said work, and set his hand thereunto. Jacob Cook likewise offered that those that did the said work should have the stones they could get off his land, in case they would take as many loads of cobbling stones as of binding stones for said work; Jacob Mitchell also made the same offer. The town voted to build a cart bridge over the said river, and chose agents to have the work executed. This year died James Warren, Esq. He was taken suddenly ill as he was going to the general assembly. He was a gentleman of great integrity and capacity, was sheriff of the county, and held other responsible offices. He left a son, James Warren, of Plymouth.

1716.—Sundry inhabitants of the north part of the town near Jones's river, petitioned to be set off a town, which was negatived by a large majority, and Major John Bradford and others were chosen to appear in the general court to show the town's reasons for opposing the petition. In 1717, they renewed their request, and being 48 families, they were set off as a separate parish, by the name of Jones's river parish.

March 1.—The town agreed with John Bradford, 'to take care and keep in good repair all highways throughout the township of Plymouth, and to save the said town harmless from all trouble that may arise through the defect of any of the highways in said town, for the space of seven years, commencing from the day of date abovesaid, for twelve pence a man to be raised by rate upon the inhabitants of said town that are of able body, by law, to work at the highways, and is to be paid to said Bradford, his heirs or assigns yearly and every year during the said term of seven years above mentioned.'

Mr. Nathaniel Thomas and Mr. Abiel Shurtleff were chosen to meet agents from Barnstable, to agree in what manner to rebuild the bridge over Eel river. And the same persons were a

committee to inquire into the reasons why the heirs of Dr. Francis LeBaron have delayed to convey to the town the ninety acres of land which the Doctor gave to the town, for the use of the poor.

1718.—Complaints being made that the people suffer greatly by means of their corn being ground at the mill by a young lad incapable of the business, it was voted that Captain Church, the owner of the mill, be informed, that unless he remove the cause of complaint, and see that the business of grinding be properly attended to, the town will grant liberty to some other person to set up another mill on the town's privilege.

1721.—The town having suffered great distress by the small pox, and that fatal disease being now in the town, a committee of twelve persons was chosen to act and advise with the selectmen to prevent its spreading.

1722.—Haveland Torrey was legally chosen constable in full town-meeting, but he declared in the meeting that he would neither serve the town in that office, nor pay his fine for refusing, as the law directs. There having been several instances of such refusal, the town now made choice of Captain Ephraim Morton to prosecute the said Torrey at the next court of quarter sessions, for his refusing to serve the town. And the next year, Haveland Torrey, James Warren, Eleazer Churchill and Nicholas Drew refused to serve in the office of constable, and all paid their fine of five pounds in the meeting, as the law required.

1722-3.—February. Under this date the following was recorded by Elder Faunce: 'This day was a dreadful storm, which raised the tide three or four feet higher than had been known aforetime.' This is the storm of which Cotton Mather gave an account to the Royal Society; says Mr. Samuel Davis, it was on the 24th of February. In the year 1770, and again in 1785, were similar storms and tides, when the water was level nearly with the locks of the store doors on the wharves, and a quantity of salt and other goods were damaged.

1724.—The following is recorded in the town's book:

To the Hon. Isaac Lothrop, Esq.

Whereas the Province law makes provision that all births and deaths shall be registered by the town clerk in the several towns within said Province, these are to inform your honor that Josiah Sturtevant, of Plymouth, in the county of Plymouth, in New England, had a child born, in or about the month of April last past, and the said Sturtevant neglecteth to give notice thereof, as according to the directions of the law. I do, therefore, pray *your honor to give forth a warrant to cause said Sturtevant to*

appear before your honor, that he may be dealt withall as according to the directions of the law.

JOHN DYER, *Town Clerk*.

Plymouth, Dec. 30, 1724.

1725.—*Kingston set off from Plymouth.* The north or Jones's river parish renewed their petition to be set off as a town. It was negatived, and three agents were chosen to give in their reasons to the general court for their refusal. This petition was made a subject of animated discussion, which was continued at several town-meetings; and at length the following persons were chosen agents in behalf of the town: Josiah Cotton, Esq., John Watson, Esq., Mr. John Dyer, John Murdock, Esq., and Deacon John Foster. They were directed by the town to oppose to the utmost in their power the prayer of the petitioners being granted; but subsequently they were desired to meet a committee from the general court at Jones's river to determine the question. But the separation was strenuously opposed in town-meeting on the 9th of May, 1726. In that year, however, the point was decided, and Jones's river parish was incorporated by the general court into a town called *Kingston*.

In town-meeting, December 25, 1727, a petition was presented from the town of Kingston requesting the town of Plymouth would repair wholly or in conjunction with them the bridge over Jones's river, which was rejected. In the same year, the town voted that an alms-house be built for the benefit of the poor of the town, and a committee was chosen to advise with the selectmen about building the said house.

1726.—March 13, voted in the town-meeting, that a reward of ten shillings shall be given to any person belonging to the town, who shall kill a wild cat within the township; and John Watson, Esq. and Mr. John Murdock were appointed to receive the heads, and give orders on the treasurer for the payment of the money. The next year twelve pounds were paid for wild cats' heads.

1727.—In town-meeting the selectmen with Mr. Watson, Mr. Murdock, Mr. John Barnes and Mr. Stephen Churchill were chosen a committee to provide a suitable place upon the common to erect a gallows for the execution of the condemned prisoner, Elizabeth Colson, a mulatto woman, for murdering her infant child; and she was executed in May.

1728.—May 13th, voted that the town will take their proportionable part of the sixty thousand pounds lately emitted by the general court, which is five hundred and eighty three pounds and five shillings, and that it be let out to the inhabitants of the town, on personal security to the trustees with a sufficient surety,

and to have it at 6 per cent. per ann. No person to have more than 30 nor less than 20 pounds. The money to be let out according to the discretion of the trustees, who are to be allowed ten shillings for letting out, and twenty for receiving in every hundred pounds.

1729.—It was voted that every householder shall be provided with a ladder reaching from the ground to the ridge-pole of his house, and have a hogshead full of water in his yard, in case of fire.

1730.—The alewife fishery at the brook in this town, had long been considered as of considerable importance, and proper regulations were from time to time provided to prevent the destruction of the fish. This year it was ordered, that, in order to prevent obstructions to the alewives going up the pond to spawn, no person shall take more fish from the town brook, or Agawam river, than are absolutely necessary for their families' use, and no person to take any for a market, on a penalty of 20 shillings for each barrel. A committee was appointed to see that families were reasonably provided for, and the poor supplied.

1731.—November 9. The inhabitants of Monument Ponds petitioned to be set off as a parish, and after due consideration, it was voted December 9th, that the inhabitants of Monument Ponds be a separate parish, and their bounds were surveyed and described accordingly.

A mortal fever prevailed in Plymouth; there was an instance of eight in the connexion of one family who died at that time.

1731-2.—John Watson, Esq. expired September 9th, aged about 43 years. He was a useful and respectable inhabitant of the town, transacting much business, and affording employment to a large number of poor people. He was supposed to possess the largest estate of any person in the county, and was charitable to the poor and destitute. Mr. John Watson, son of the above, died in January, 1753, at the early age of 37 years; and his wife having died before, they left three orphan children, two sons and a daughter. One of the sons was the late John Watson, Esq., the second President of the Pilgrim Society.

The town voted, this year, to choose a committee to procure a new bell, the old one being cracked. It was agreed that the bell should weigh about 300 pounds, and at the meeting, John Murdock, Esq. offered to give the town 50 pounds weight in the bell, in addition to what the town had voted.

The following mark of a run-away whale was recorded by Benjamin Rider.

The said whale was struck by Joseph Sachemus, Indian, at Monument Ponds, November 25th, 1735. There were several

irons put into her; one was a backward iron on her left side, and two irons on her right side. The iron on the left side was broke about six inches from the socket. She carried away one short warp with a drag to it, and a long warp without a buoy; one of the drag staves was made with white birch, &c.

1738.—May 8th. The inhabitants of Agawam, within the township of Plymouth, petitioned to be a separate parish, which was granted, and at a town-meeting, March 1st, 1738-9, it was voted that the plantation at Agawam, with all the inhabitants thereon, be set off from this town, and be a township, adjoining the easterly part of Rochester, according to their purchase deed from the town of Plymouth. This is now Wareham.

The town voted that three pence per head, shall be paid out of the town Treasury for every full grown rat that may be killed in the town, three pence for every black bird, and six pence for every crow. And in 1744, a vote passed, that every male head of a family shall procure ten grown rats' heads, or ten black birds' heads, and each male head of a family who shall fail, shall be assessed the sum of six pence, old tenor, per head, for each head that he shall fall short of said number, and the assessors are ordered to add each delinquent's fine to his next town tax.

A man named Crimble was indicted at Plymouth for forging a bond, but for want of evidence, was only convicted for a *cheat*, and was ordered to wear said bond, with a piece of paper over it, with the word cheat written thereon; and to stand on the court-house steps half an hour. This year square-toed shoes went out of fashion, and buckles began to be worn.

A blacksmith while working at his forge was sportively beset by a young man, and the smith unfortunately struck him with a hot iron, which wounded the jugular vein, (it must have been the carotid artery,) so that he bled to death in six minutes.

1741.—On the Sabbath, March 30th, the town of Plymouth was alarmed during divine service, by Joseph Wampum, a native, who gave information that eight Spaniards had landed at his house, situated four miles distant from Buzzard's Bay. War existed at that time between England and Spain. This information, therefore, justly excited an universal panic. The drums beat to arms, and the militia were ordered out, but it proved to be a false alarm, and was ever after called Wampum's war.

1742.—The General Court granted a sum of money to the town of Plymouth for the purpose of erecting a battery or breast work, and the town chose a committee consisting of 18 persons, to determine and report as to the most suitable place for the said battery. The committee reported in favor of Cole's hill, and the town accepted the report.

1745.—This year a full company of soldiers, of which Sylvanus Cobb was captain, was raised in Plymouth for the expedition against Louisbourg; and it was remarked that they were the first for that service who appeared at Boston, whence they embarked and served with credit on that memorable occasion. Captain Cobb continued in public service in Nova Scotia, and, in 1758, was selected by general Monckton to conduct general Wolfe to a reconnoitre of the fortress, previous to its capture. As they sailed into the harbor, no one was allowed to stand on deck, but Cobb at the helm, and Wolfe in the fore-sheet making observations, while the shot were flying thick around. General Wolfe observed that they had approached as near as he wished for his purpose, but Cobb made yet another tack, and, as they hove about, Wolfe exclaimed with approbation, 'Well, Cobb! I shall never doubt but you will carry me near enough.' Captain Cobb returned to Plymouth, and afterwards removed to Nova Scotia, and was employed on the expedition to Havana in 1762, where he died.

1748.—The town voted to give £300 old tenor* more than their proportion towards building a new court house, provided the town may have the use of the said house for the purpose of transacting the town's business so long as the house shall stand; and at a subsequent meeting it was agreed to add £700 old tenor to the above sum, for the same purpose, on the condition that the house be immediately built, and that the town shall have the benefit as above. Accordingly, in 1759, a court house was erected in Plymouth, near the meeting house. It was planned by the late Judge Oliver, of Middleborough. The front door was originally at the east end, with a handsome flight of steps. When the door was altered, a market place was made under the east end of the house. When the new brick court house was erected, in 1818, the town of Plymouth purchased of the county, the old court house, which is now used for a town house.

Died, in this town, greatly lamented, Isaac Lothrop, Esq., at the age of forty-three. He was one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas, and his death occasioned a general gloom in the town and throughout the county. At the opening of the next court, May 15, Nicholas Sever, Esq., chief justice, and Peter Oliver, Esq., one of the justices of the said court, both expressed from the bench the grief and sorrow with which the court and bar were affected by the melancholy event, and observed that colonel Lothrop was held in profound regard as a

* The difference in value between sterling and the Boston old tenor, is as one to ten; one shilling sterling being equal to ten shillings old tenor.

judge, and was greatly respected for his moral and christian virtues. He possessed a large estate, and transacted extensive business in the mercantile line, in which he sustained an honorable and upright character. Few men have been more affectionately beloved, nor any whose death could diffuse more heartfelt sorrow among the poor, and in every social circle. The following inscription is found on his tomb-stone:

Had virtue's charms the power to save
Its faithful votaries from the grave,
This stone had ne'er possessed the fame
Of being marked with Lothrop's name.

The children of Mr. Lothrop and Priscilla his wife, were,
Isaac, born 1735, died 1808.
Nathaniel, 1737, died 1828.
Thomas, 1739, died 1794.
Caleb, 1742, died abroad 1766.
Priscilla, 1747, married Mr. Burr, died 1810.

An excise act, laying a duty on wine and spirits consumed in private families, was passed by the legislature, and governor Shirley suspended his assent; for which an address of thanks was voted to him by the town.

1755.—Nov. 18, there was a terrible earthquake in America, the shock was the most violent that was ever known in the country. A spring in the northwest part of the town, in the public road, was removed from the east to the west side of the road, where it still continues an overflowing stream. *Tincker's rock spring*, was its ancient name; the rock is now blown up. This is the well known spring about half a mile on the Kingston road, near Nelson's house. John Murdock, Esq. was a wealthy and respectable merchant in this town. He was from Scotland, and married here about 1686, and, again, a second wife, about the year 1719, Phebe Morton, a daughter of John Morton, of Middleborough. An only daughter (Phebe) of this marriage became the wife of William Bowdoin, of Boston, a brother of governor Bowdoin. An intimacy subsisted many years between Mr. Murdock and the father of governor Bowdoin, who was in the habit of making him an annual visit at Plymouth.

Mr. Murdock, in his will, dated February 7, 1756, gave to the town of Plymouth £100 lawful money for the use of the poor of said town, and £100 for the use of the schools of said town, and also £100 to the third parish of said town, providing in the will that the capital of each of these sums should not be lessened, but always kept good, the interest to be appropriated *as above*; and if these directions should not be observed, then *the money to revert to his son, John Murdock, his heirs, &c.*

1758.—In 1758, the town chose a committee to devise means of paving the public streets in Plymouth, but the project failed of success.

1759.—*Bridge over the town brook.* The bridge over the town brook at the shore, now Water Street, was, till this year, only a swing bridge for foot passengers; but the town now resolved, 'that there shall be a substantial bridge and cart cause-way, 20 feet wide, and high enough to be out of the reach of ordinary tides, and that the town will grant all the town's land, beach, dockage, and flats, in that place, to any person or persons who will build a good bridge over the said brook, and keep and maintain it, in good repair, for the convenience of the town forever; and that in default herein, it shall be lawful for the said town to enter upon the said granted premises, as in their own right, and hold the same as fully and completely as though no such grant had been made.' A committee, consisting of Thomas Foster, James Warren, George Watson, Joseph Bartlett, and James Hovey, were appointed, and authorised to transact this business in behalf of the town. March 1762, the town accepted the bridge and wharf built by Thomas Foster and his associates, and directed the committee to give a deed of conveyance of the land, &c. above specified, under the restrictions and limitations mentioned. In May, 1762, David Turner, Nathaniel Foster, and Thomas Davis gave, each of them, a piece of land to the town, 20 feet wide, near the bridge, to be kept and used for the accommodation of the public, so long as the bridge and wharf shall be kept as a public road.

The names of the two following gentlemen deserve to be recorded in this place. The Hon. *Josiah Cotton* was son of John Cotton, some time minister of Plymouth, and grandson of John Cotton, minister in Boston. He was born in Plymouth, Jan. 8th, 1679, and graduated at Harvard College in 1698, and became a teacher of a school in Marblehead, in October following, where he preached his first sermon, September, 1702. In 1704, he discontinued preaching and returned to his native town, where he was a school instructor for seven years. This respectable man held, at different times, several civil offices in the county, as clerk of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, Justice of the same court, Register of Probate, and Register of Deeds. He was also occasionally employed as a preacher to the Indians in Plymouth and the vicinity, having acquired a competent acquaintance with their language. He was the author of the Supplement to the New England's Memorial. He left a Diary, which he began soon after he left college, and continued nearly to the time of his decease. It is in the possession of his grandson, Rossetter Cotton, Esq. the present Register of

Deeds for the county of Plymouth. It contains many historical facts, which it would be desirable to have extracted and presented to the Massachusetts Historical, or to the Pilgrim Society, for preservation. Mr. Cotton died in 1756, aged 76 years, leaving a numerous progeny. He possessed a strong and sound mind, and was fervently pious, and indefatigable in the discharge of all the duties of his various and honorable stations in life.

John Cotton, Esq. son of the above, was born April, 1712, graduated at Harvard College, 1730, and was ordained minister at Halifax, county of Plymouth, October, 1736. From an indisposition, which greatly affected his voice, he requested and received his dismissal in 1756. He succeeded his father in the office of Register of Deeds, which he held until his decease, which took place Nov. 4th, 1789, in the 78th year of his age. He was considered an able theologian, and his pulpit performances were much esteemed by judicious auditors. He was the author of the valuable *Account of Plymouth Church*, appended to the sermon preached at the ordination of Rev. Chandler Robbins, in 1760. This account was republished in the 4th vol. of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and has been resorted to by the author of the present work.—He published, also, seasonable warnings to the churches of New England, and tracts on Infant Baptism, and several occasional sermons. He was chosen by the town, delegate to the convention for forming a constitution for the Commonwealth, in the year 1780, and was one of the committee for the county to draft the constitution. He left sons and daughters. Josiah, the eldest, was the minister at Wareham, and afterwards a magistrate and clerk of the court for the county of Plymouth. He died April, 1819, aged 71, leaving one son, who is a physician in the state of Ohio, and one daughter who is the wife of Isaac L. Hedge, Esq. of this town. Two other sons of John Cotton, are Rossetter, the present Register of Deeds for the county, and Ward, minister of Boylston. His son, John, was lost at sea in the year 1800, leaving a widow and two daughters.

1761.—*March* 12th. Two shocks of an earthquake were felt throughout New England.

1764.—This year, the people in the New England Provinces began to manifest considerable alarm at the measures of the British administration, founded on their claims to make laws, and levy taxes on the people without their consent.

1665.—A *Stamp Act* having passed the British Parliament, the greatest excitement was created throughout the American colonies. The inhabitants of this town participated in the patriotic spirit, and resolved to unite in the general opposition to

the obnoxious measure.* In town meeting, October 14th, it was voted to instruct their representative to the general court, to represent the feelings and sentiments of the inhabitants as most decidedly opposed to any tax in the form of stamps or stamp acts, and to exert his influence against the execution of the stamp act. The instructions teem with patriotic ardor, calling to mind that they inhabit the spot where our ancestors founded an *asylum for liberty*. 'We likewise,' say the instructions, 'to avoid disgracing the memories of our ancestors, as well as the reproaches of our own consciences and the curses of posterity, recommend it to you to obtain, if possible, in the honorable house of representatives in this province, full and explicit assertions of our rights, and to have the same entered on their public records, that all generations yet to come may be convinced that we have not only a just sense of our rights and liberties, but that we never (with submission to Divine Providence) will be slaves to any power on earth.' The stamp act was repealed January 16th, 1766. The town on this passed a vote of thanks to the town of Boston for their patriotic measures in asserting and defending the precious rights and liberties of our common country, and the following is the answer to the Plymouth address.

'*Boston, March 10th, 1767.*—The inhabitants of the town of Boston, legally assembled in Faneuil Hall, have received with singular pleasure your respectful address of the 16th of January last. The warm sentiments of public virtue which you therein express is a sufficient evidence, that the most ancient town in New England, to whose predecessors this province, in a particular manner, is so greatly indebted for their necessary aid in its original settlement, still retain the truly noble spirit of our renowned ancestors. When we recollect the ardent love of religion and liberty which inspired the breasts of those worthies, which induced them at a time, when tyranny had laid its oppressive hand on church and state in their native country, to forsake their fair possessions, and seek a retreat in this distant part of the earth; when we reflect upon their early care to lay a solid foundation for learning, even in a wilderness, as the surest, if not the only means of preserving and cherishing the principles of liberty and virtue, and transmitting them to us, their posterity, our mind is filled with deep veneration, and we bleed and revere their memory. When we consider the immense cost and pains they were at in subduing, cultivating,

* By this act a ream of bail bonds stamped would cost £100; a ream of common printed ones before was £15. A ream of stamped policies of insurance was £190; of common ones without stamps £20.

and settling this land, with the utmost peril of their lives, and the surprising increase of dominion, strength and riches, which have accrued to Great Britain by their expense and labor, we confess we feel an honest indignation to think there ever should have been any among her sons so ungrateful, as well as unjust and cruel, as to seek their ruin. Instances of this too frequently occur in the past history of our country. The names of Randolph, Andros and others, are handed down to us with infamy; and the times in which we live, even these very times, may furnish some future historian with a catalogue of those who look upon our rising greatness with an envious eye; and while we and our sister colonies have been exerting our growing strength in the most substantial service to the mother country, by art and intrigue have wickedly attempted to seduce her into measures to enslave us. If then, gentlemen, the inhabitants of this metropolis have discovered an invariable attachment to the principles of liberty, when it has been invaded; if they have made the most vigorous exertions for our country, when she has been threatened with the loss of every thing that is dear: if they have used their utmost endeavors, that she may be relieved from those difficulties with which she is at this time embarrassed: if they have taken the warrantable and legal measures to prevent that misfortune, of all others the most to be dreaded, *the execution of the stamp act*; and as a necessary means of preventing it, have made any spirited application for opening the custom-houses and courts of justice; if at the same time they have borne their testimony against outrageous tumults and illegal proceedings, and given any examples of the love of peace and good order,—next to the consciousness of having done their duty, is the satisfaction of meeting with the approbation of any of their fellow countrymen. That the spirit of our venerable forefathers may revive, and be diffused through every community in this land; that liberty both civil and religious, the grand object in view, may still be felt, enjoyed, and vindicated by the present generation, and the fair inheritance transmitted to our latest posterity, is the fervent wish of this metropolis.

Signed { Samuel Adams.
John Ruddock.
John Hancock.' }

1769.—On the 12th day of May there was a snow storm of twelve hours continuance.

Old Colony Club.—This year seven respectable individuals, inhabitants of Plymouth, instituted a social club which they styled as above. They elected an additional number of members, and invited guests were admitted to their meetings. It

was in this club that the custom of solemnizing the anniversary of the arrival of our forefathers first originated, and this was the principal object of its formation. I shall transcribe for the entertainment of my readers, such parts of their records as cannot fail of being acceptable. The late Isaac Lothrop, Esq. a zealous antiquarian, was their president, and Captain Thomas Lothrop, secretary.

January 16th, 1769.—‘We whose names are underwritten, having maturely weighed and seriously considered the many disadvantages and inconveniences that arise from intermixing with the company at the taverns in this town, and apprehending that a well regulated club will have a tendency to prevent the same, and to increase, not only the pleasure and happiness of the respective members, but, also, will conduce to their edification and instruction, do hereby incorporate ourselves into a society, by the name of the *Old Colony Club*. For the better regulation of which we do consent and agree to observe all such rules and laws, as shall from time to time be made by the club. Dated at our Hall, in Plymouth, the day and year above written.

Isaac Lothrop.

Pelham Winslow.

Thomas Lothrop.

Elkanah Cushman.

John Thomas.

Edward Winslow, Jr.

John Watson.

December 18th.—At a meeting of the club, voted, that Friday next be kept by this club in commemoration of the landing of our worthy ancestors in this place; that the club dine together at Mr. Howland's, and that a number of gentlemen be invited to spend the evening with us at the Old Colony Hall.

Old Colony Day. First Celebration of the Landing of our Forefathers.—Friday, December 22. The Old Colony Club, agreeably to a vote passed the 18th instant, met, in commemoration of the landing of their worthy ancestors in this place. On the morning of the said day, after discharging a cannon, was hoisted upon the hall an elegant silk flag, with the following inscription, ‘*Old Colony*,’ 1620. At eleven o'clock, A. M. the members of the club appeared at the hall, and from thence proceeded to the house of Mr. Howland, inn-holder, which is erected upon the spot where the first licensed house in the Old Colony formerly stood; at half after two a decent repast was served, which consisted of the following dishes, viz.

1, a large baked Indian whortleberry pudding; 2, a dish of sauquetach, (succatach, corn and beans boiled together); 3, a dish of clams; 4, a dish of oysters and a dish of cod fish; 5, a haunch of venison, roasted by the first Jack brought to the

colony; 6, a dish of sea fowl; 7, a dish of frost fish and eels; 8, an apple pie; 9, a course of cranberry tarts, and cheese made in the Old Colony.

These articles were dressed in the plainest manner (all appearance of luxury and extravagance being avoided, in imitation of our ancestors, whose memory we shall ever respect.) At 4 o'clock, P. M. the members of our club, headed by the steward, carrying a folio volume of the laws of the Old Colony, hand in hand marched in procession to the hall. Upon the appearance of the procession in front of the hall, a number of descendants from the first settlers, in the Old Colony drew up in a regular file, and discharged a volley of small arms, succeeded by three cheers, which were returned by the club, and the gentlemen generously treated. After this, appeared at the private grammar school opposite the hall, a number of young gentlemen, pupils of Mr. Wadsworth, who, to express their joy upon this occasion, and their respect for the memory of their ancestors, in the most agreeable manner joined in singing a song very applicable to the day. At sunseting a cannon was discharged, and the flag struck. In the evening the hall was illuminated, and the following gentlemen, being previously invited, joined the club, viz.

Col. George Watson.	Capt. Thomas Davis.
Col. James Warren.	Dr. Nathaniel Lothrop.
James Hovey, Esq.	Mr. John Russell.
Thomas Mayhew, Esq.	Mr. Edward Clarke.
William Watson, Esq.	Mr. Alexander Scammell.
Capt. Gideon White.	Mr. Peleg Wadsworth.
Capt. Elkanah Watson.	Mr. Thomas Southworth Howland.

The president being seated in a large and venerable chair,* which was formerly possessed by William Bradford, the second worthy governor of the Old Colony, and presented to the club, by our friend Dr. Lazarus Le Baron, of this town, delivered several appropriate toasts.† After spending the evening in an agreeable manner, in recapitulating and conversing upon the many and various advantages of our forefathers in the first settlement of this country, and the growth and increase of the same,—at eleven o'clock in the evening a cannon was again

* This ancient chair reverted to the heirs of Dr. Le Baron when the club was dissolved, and is now in the family of Nathaniel Russell, Esq.

† One of the toasts was this:—

"May every enemy to civil or religious liberty meet the same or a worse fate than Archbishop Laud."

fired, three cheers given, and the club and company withdrew.

1770, *December 24*. In pursuance of the determination at their last meeting, for the purpose of celebrating this 24th day of December (the 22d falling on Saturday,) in commemoration of that period which landed their progenitors safely on this American shore, after having endured the persecution of enemies, the perils of an unknown ocean, the crosses of fortune, and innumerable difficulties and hazards attending such emigrants.

The morning of the day gave such general joy and satisfaction to their descendants in this place, that notwithstanding the severity of the season, as soon as light appeared a company of grateful youths paraded our streets, and, with cannon and volleys of small arms, aroused the town from its slumbers. At ten o'clock, the members of the club, being joined by Messrs. Alexander Scammell and Peleg Wadsworth, B. A., assembled at the House of Mr. Howland, an innholder in Plymouth, and at twelve, were joined by the following gentlemen, viz. Thomas Foster, James Hovey, George Watson, and James Warren, Esqrs., Capt. Elkanah Watson and Doctor Nathaniel Lothrop, of Plymouth, and the Hon. William Sever, Esq. of Kingston, where, after having amused themselves in conversation upon the history of emigrant colonies, and the constitution and declension of empires, ancient and modern, they were served with an entertainment, foreign from all kinds of luxury, and consisting of fish, flesh, and vegetables, the natural produce of this colony; after which, the company being increased by Edward Winslow, Esq., Doctor Lazarus Le Baron, William Watson, Esq., Thomas Mayhew, Esq., Deacon John Torrey, Captain Theophilus Cotton, Captain Abraham Hammett, Mr. Ephraim Spooner, and Mr. John Crandon, a number of toasts were drank, grateful to the remembrance of our ancestors, and loyal to those kings under whose indulgent care this colony has flourished and been protected. From which house, the club, together with the before mentioned gentlemen, being escorted by a select company, well skilled in the military arts, walked in decent procession to Old Colony Hall, in the course of which they were met, and attended upon, by a company of children from the age of five to the age of twelve, whose natural ingenuity and the care and attention of their master, hath rendered them almost perfect military disciplinarians, a scene that excited the admiration of every spectator. Upon their arrival at the door of the hall, the whole company entered the room, being introduced by the steward and complimented by the club, and the escort, by whom was performed a variety of *manceuvres* and *firings*, to the great satisfaction of every per-

son present.* When the sun had set, and the military gentlemen had dispersed, the Old Colony flag was struck, the cannon fired, and the company in the hall were joined by the Rev. Chandler Robbins, pastor of the First Church of Christ in Plymouth.

In order to remind us of the debt of gratitude we owe to our God, and to our ancestors, the following words were spoken, with modest and decent firmness, by a member of the club, (Edward Winslow, Jr. Esq.)

‘ When I recollect, that about one century and a half since, a few worthies on the Island of Great Britain, persecuted and tormented by the wicked aspiring *great*, for thinking freely, and for acting with the same dignity and freedom with which they thought, although their sentiments and conduct were conformed to the laws of the society in which they lived, contrary to the common cause of suffering humanity, which frequently sinks in proportion to the power exerted against it, did dare, in defiance of their persecutors, to form themselves into one body for the common safety and protection of all, an engagement, which though founded on the true and genuine principles of religion and virtue, unhappy experience taught them was too weak and insecure a barrier against the arts and stratagems of such potent adversaries. When we recollect that, under these melancholy circumstances, having no other resort to preserve the purity of their minds, they abandoned their native country, their friends, their fortunes, and connexions, and transported themselves to the city of Leyden, with the most sanguine hopes of a protection which the Island had refused to afford them. When we recollect that persecution, from another quarter, rendered their situation in the states of Holland equally as perplexed and disagreeable,—how am I astonished that such repeated disappointments had not rendered them too weak ever to make another attempt. But when we view them rising from their misfortunes with tenfold vigor, and,

* Peleg Wadsworth was a native of Duxbury, graduated at Harvard, 1769. He was for many years a respectable teacher of a grammar school in this town; and in 1775, when minute companies were formed, and the manual exercise arrested general attention, he devoted much of his time to the instruction of young men in the use of fire-arms, and instilling into the minds of youth a true sense and value of liberty and freedom. He was at some period of the revolutionary war in military service, and in 1780 appointed to the command of a detachment of state troops, in Camden, state of Maine. In this situation he was assaulted and captured by the British, under circumstances of peril and suffering almost unprecedented.—See *President Dwight's Travels*, and *Thacher's Military Journal*.

upon the same virtuous principles, crossing the Atlantic with the dearest companions of life, their wives, their helpless offspring, exposed to the roughness of the ocean, to the inclemencies of the weather, and all their attendant evils, and landing in the tempestuous month of December upon an unknown shore, inhabited by men more fierce than beasts of prey, and scarcely deserving to be called human, natural enemies to their virtue and morality, with whom they are obliged to wage an immediate and unequal war for their defence and safety. When we view them, under all the disadvantages naturally attendant upon a state of sickness and poverty, defending themselves against savage cruelties, and still persevering in their virtuous resolutions, establishing their religion in this then desert, forming a code of laws wisely adapted to their circumstances, and planting a colony, which, through divine goodness, has flourished and become an important branch of that body which caused their emigration,—how am I lost in amazement! And to what cause can we ascribe these deliverances and salvation, but to that Almighty being who orders all events for the benefit of mankind, whose ways are to us unsearchable, and whose doings are past our finding out.

‘Upon a recollection of all these things, it is not to be wondered, that we the sons and descendants from such illustrious ancestors, upon this 22d of December, are assembled upon the very spot on which they landed, to commemorate this period, the most important that the annals of America can boast, a period which, I doubt not, every person here present esteems an honor, as well as his incumbent duty, gratefully to remember; and while we feel for the misfortunes and calamities of those, our pious ancestors, the consequences of which to us are so delightful and glorious, let us also admire and adore their virtue, their patience, their fortitude, and their heroism, and continue to commemorate it annually. This virtue is undoubtedly rewarded with joys which no tongue can utter, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive; and if we, their sons, act from the same principles, and conduct with the same noble firmness and resolution, when our holy religion or our civil liberties are invaded, we may expect a reward proportionate; for such principles render the soul tranquil and easy under all the misfortunes and calamities to which human nature is exposed, and of him who is possessed by them, the poet with propriety says,

“Should the whole frame of nature round him break,
In ruin and confusion hurled,
He, unconcerned, would hear the mighty crack,
And stand secure amidst a falling world.”

The evening was concluded by singing a song composed by Mr. Alexander Scammel.*

1771, *December 20.* At an occasional meeting, Alexander Scammel, M. A., was, by his desire, unanimously voted in as a member of the club.

December 23d. The 22d falling on Sunday, the club voted to celebrate Forefathers' Day on Monday, the 23d. In the morning a cannon was discharged, and the flag hoisted on the hall. At noon, the club being joined by a number of the most respectable gentlemen in town, met in a spacious room at the house of Mr. Wethrell, innholder, where they partook of a plain and elegant entertainment, and spent the afternoon in cheerful and social conversation, upon a variety of subjects peculiarly adapted to the time. At sunset, upon a signal given by the discharge of cannon and striking the flag, the members of the club, with the gentlemen of the town, repaired to the hall, where the aforesaid subjects were resumed, and several important matters, relative to the conduct of our ancestors, were discussed with freedom and candor, and a number of pleasing anecdotes of our progenitors were recollected and communicated by some of the aged and venerable gentlemen who favored us with their company.

An uncommon harmony and pleasantry prevailed throughout the day and evening, every person present exerting himself to increase the general joy. The Old Colony song, with a number of others, was sung, after which the company withdrew.

A letter from the Rev. Mr. Robbins was communicated by the President, and is as follows:

Plymouth, December 23, 1771.

GENTLEMEN: I am told it was expected by some, that as the anniversary of our forefathers' arrival in this place fell on the Sabbath past, I would have taken some public notice of it in the pulpit. I must acknowledge I think there would have been a great propriety in it, and I am very sorry it was entirely out of my mind that *that* was the day, till I was reminded of it to-day; otherwise I should certainly have taken notice of it, and

* 'Mr. A. Scammel was then the teacher of the Plymouth town school. He was afterwards a distinguished officer in the American army. At the siege of York Town, September 30th, 1781, he received a fatal wound, and was captured by the British. He died in the city of Williamsburg, Virginia, where is a monumental tablet,

Which conquering armies, from their toils return'd,
Rear'd to his glory, while his fate they mourn'd.'

Humphreys

attempted to say something suitable to the occasion; however, it is past now; but I would on this occasion, if it would not be esteemed assuming in me, humbly propose to the gentlemen of your society, whether it would not be agreeable, and serve for the entertainment and instruction of the rising generation, more especially for the future, on these anniversaries to have a sermon in public, some part of the day, peculiarly adapted to the occasion, wherein should be represented the motives that induced them to undertake such an enterprise, the amazing dangers and difficulties they conflicted with and overcame, the piety and ardor with which they persevered through numberless discouragements and opposition—the time, manner, and other circumstances of their first arrival,—with all the train of surprising events that ensued,—the appearances of the divine providence and goodness for them, the noble and God-like virtue with which they were inspired, so worthy the imitation of their posterity, &c., &c.,—with many other things, that would naturally fall in upon a discourse of this kind. I mention this, gentlemen, the more freely, because I remember it was spoken of in conversation by some of the gentlemen of your company the evening of the last anniversary. I do *but propose* the thing, gentlemen, for your consideration this evening, and if it should prove agreeable, I would beg leave to suggest one thing further, viz., that the minister to preach the sermon be chosen by your society somewhere *within the Old Colony*, and I doubt not any gentleman whom you should choose for that purpose would very willingly consent, in order to encourage so good a design.

‘And now, gentlemen, I rest assured that your candor and generosity is such, that you will not construe what I have offered in an unfavorable light, either as being dictatorial, or seeming to desire myself the office of speaker on such occasion, which I can sincerely say is far from being true. I propose it for the instruction and entertainment of ourselves and posterity. The plan, if it should be agreeable, would afford us opportunity to hear these matters discoursed on by a great variety of ministers, who would doubtless take pains to furnish themselves with entertaining and useful materials for the occasion. And for this end, if they were appointed at each anniversary for the next year, they would have so much the better opportunity to prepare. Submitting the matter to your consideration, I am, gentlemen, with much regard,

‘Your friend and very humble servant,

CHANDLER ROBBINS.’

Voted, that Messrs. Pelham Winslow, Edward Winslow, Jr.,

and Alexander Scammel, should be a committee to prepare an answer to the above letter, which they are to lay before the club as soon as may be.

1772, *January 7th.* Messrs. Pelham Winslow, Edward Winslow, and Alexander Scammel, the committee chosen the 23d December, reported an answer to the Rev. Mr. Robbins's letter, which was approved, and accordingly forwarded by the club, and is as follows:

REV. AND RESPECTED SIR: We have carefully perused the contents of your letter of the 23d inst., but before we proceed to a particular answer thereto, we think it necessary to observe, that the members of this society, (who weekly meet together for the mutual advantage of each other, to enjoy the refined pleasures of social and unrestrained conversation, unalloyed with the disputes and contentions of parties,) having taken into consideration, that the celebrating certain days of each year, upon which any remarkable event or extraordinary transaction had happened, is a practice which has the sanction of antiquity for its justification, finding frequent instances of it in *sacred* as well as *profane*, in ancient as well as *modern* history, not only among nations, states and churches, but even in particular societies and corporations,—we were not a little surprised, that an event so important and glorious in its consequences as the landing of our ancestors in this place, should be totally neglected by their descendants;—considering further, that the assembling a number of persons of different ages, for the purpose of commemorating this *truly* remarkable period, would have a natural and direct tendency to introduce subjects for conversation relative to our illustrious progenitors, and the history of our country, the aged upon those days would with freedom communicate to the youth those circumstances which had happened within their memories, and those also which had been casually related to them by their predecessors; by these means many pleasing and curious anecdotes of our pious forefathers, which have escaped the pens of historians, would be snatched from oblivion and descend to posterity; and while we, with pleasure and gratitude, were recollecting and admiring their virtues, their patience, their piety, their heroism, and their fortitude, we might be incited to follow their worthy examples.

‘These, sir, were the principal motives by which we were actuated, (whatever the malice and envy of some might suggest to the contrary,) when we proposed to celebrate this anniversary, and we were pleased with the expectation of being *joined by many of the respectable members of the Old Colony*;

and (from a consciousness of the rectitude of our intentions, and the benefit that might result to us and others from this institution,) we flattered ourselves that *even* the reverend gentlemen of the clergy would give a sanction to it, by honoring us with their presence.

‘Our expectations have been, in part, answered, and we esteem ourselves under the greatest obligations to you, sir, for proposing a mode of celebration for the future, so exactly correspondent with our most sanguine wishes and expectations, as that of having a sermon preached on this *solemn* as well as *important* occasion. We concur with you ‘that it would be agreeable, and serve for the entertainment and instruction of the rising generation;’ and we are of opinion that the motives and inducements of our religious forefathers for undertaking so dangerous an enterprise as the settlement of this colony, the amazing difficulties they encountered and overcame, the true vital piety and ardor with which they persevered, their sincere desire to advance the christian religion, and their other noble and Godlike virtues, are subjects that ought to be minutely discussed, and solemnized by the sacred oratory of the pulpit.

‘We have endeavored to deserve the compliment which you have been pleased to pay us, construing your letter ‘with generosity and candor.’ We neither esteem it ‘dictatorial,’ nor as ‘desiring yourself the office of speaker on the occasion.’

‘We have impatiently waited for a proposal of this kind to be made to some gentlemen of the clergy by persons whose ages and situations in life have given them greater influence than ourselves, but it has been hitherto omitted; we would modestly request (as you are the pastor of the first church that was gathered in the Old Colony, have the greatest advantages and opportunities for collecting all the *historical facts* and other materials that may be necessary for this work, and in every other respect are peculiarly qualified therefor,) that you would, upon the ensuing anniversary, prepare and deliver a discourse ‘suitable to the time;’ and, in complying with this our request, we *trust* that you will not only render a singular service to the public, but will oblige many of the respectable inhabitants of the Old Colony, and, in particular, the members of this society. We are, with the most unfeigned respect and gratitude,

‘Your sincere friends and obedient servants,

‘THE OLD COLONY CLUB.

‘From Old Colony Hall, December 31, 1771.

‘REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS.’

December 15th. At a meeting, voted that William Watson, Esq., Capt. Elkanah Watson, Dr. Nathaniel Lothrop, Capt. Gideon White, Dr. Lazarus Le Baron, Thomas Foster, Esq., George Watson, Esq., Edward Winslow, Esq., Thomas Mayhew, Esq., James Hovey, Esq., Deacon John Torrey, and James Warren, Esq., be invited to Old Colony Club on Wednesday evening next, then and there to join the Club in proposing a method of celebration of the next 22d of December.

December 16, at a meeting, present, Pelham Winslow, John Thomas, Edward Winslow, Cornelius White, Thomas Lothrop, Elkanah Cushman, John Watson, Thomas Mayhew.

Thomas Foster, James Hovey, George Watson, James Warren, Thomas Mayhew, William Watson, Esq., Capt. Gideon White, Dr. William Thomas, Dr. Nathaniel Lothrop, by invitation.

Voted by the Club and the above gentlemen,

1. That a committee be chosen from among the members of this club, to wait on the Rev. Mr. Robbins, and inform him that it is expected by the gentlemen of this place, that he will gratify the public by complying with the request of this Club, made in their letter to him dated the 31st of December, A. D. 1771, to 'preach a sermon on the ensuing anniversary,' and that (if it be agreeable to him) to begin the services at half after ten o'clock in the forenoon.

2. That the company, together with such other gentlemen as may join us from the neighboring towns, dine together at the house of Mr. Howland, in Plymouth.

3. That the gentlemen of the clergy belonging to this town, together with those who may be here from the other towns, be invited to dine with the company at Mr. Howland's.

After the company withdrew,

Voted by the Club, that Pelham Winslow, John Thomas, and John Watson, be a committee to wait on the Rev. Mr. Robbins for the purpose mentioned in the foregoing vote of the company; and that they also request of Mr. Robbins, that he would, on the Sabbath preceding the anniversary, notify his church and congregation of our intention to celebrate the said day. And that they also wait on the Rev. Mr. Bacon, and make the same request to him. And they are to make report of their doings to this Club on Monday, at 11 o'clock, A. M., to which time this Club is adjourned.

December 22. Upon this 22d day of December, (to show our gratitude to the Creator and Preserver of our ancestors and ourselves, and as a mark of respect most justly due to the memories of those heroic christians, who on the 22d of De-

ded on this spot,) the members of this Club and respectable assembly in the meeting parish in Plymouth, and, after a hymn of God, the Rev. Mr. Chandler Robbins delivered a pathetic discourse, from these words; and a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law he commanded our fathers, that they should tell to their children, that the generations to come, even the children *which* should be born, arise and declare *them* to their children, that their hope in God, and not forget the works of his commandments.'

For enumerating many of the virtues of our predecessors recounted their toils, their hazards, and their various attempts to shun the horrors of a despotism and the curses of an ecclesiastical tyranny, and wherein they might enjoy their religion in its peace of conscience. This sermon closed with an address to the audience, which did honor to humanity and him by the profound silence and solemn attention which throughout this vast collection of people, of all ages, we had the pleasing satisfaction of concluding that he spent his strength for nought. The New England hymn composed by Dr. Byles, sung with uncommon melody, closed the exercise.

Cheerfulness (the never-failing companion of gratefulness) might reign among us, the members of the club, with the reverend gentlemen of the clergy, and others, respectable of the congregation repaired to the house at Howland, where a table was spread and abundantly supplied with the various productions of this *now fruitful* year, at which the honorable general John Winslow presided.

After partaking of these bounties, and spending a few minutes in the most social conversation upon the history of our country, the adventures of our ancestors, &c. subjects at this peculiarly pleasing, the company proceeded to Old Colony where the same sociability and harmony prevailed throughout the evening.

73, January 6th. Voted by the club and the gentlemen present, that the Rev. Charles Turner, of Duxbury, be invited to preach the next anniversary sermon, and that Pelham Winslow, Thomas Lothrop, John Thomas, and Edward Winslow, be a committee to draft a letter to that gentleman; and that the committee write a letter of thanks to the Rev. Mr. Robbins for his sermon on the 22d ult., and request a copy thereof;

the committee to make report the next club night. Rev. Mr. Turner accepted the invitation to preach the anniversary sermon, and performed that service December 22d, 1773.

The committee reported the following letter to the Rev. Mr. Robbins.

' Old Colony Hall, January 13th, 1773.

REV. SIR : The members of this society, deeply impressed with a sense of gratitude for your obliging compliance with their request to preach a sermon in commemoration of the settlement of our ancestors in this place, beg leave to return our sincere thanks for your entertaining and instructive discourse of the 22d December last, and in order to perpetuate the many pertinent observations therein contained, would modestly request a copy, that the rising generation may have a better opportunity of being benefitted and instructed, which you justly observed, was the more immediate design of the discourse. We are with all due respect, your most humble servants,

OLD COLONY CLUB.'

Answer.

RESPECTED GENTLEMEN: Having just received your obliging favor, being from home when it was sent, I take this opportunity to acknowledge my obligations for your acceptance of my endeavors to gratify the members of your society and others, in the sermon you refer to. The subject is so well known and handled in the printed memoirs of those times, that a publication of the discourse seems needless, and I fear will never answer your expectations and the end you propose. I shall, however, not be averse to gratify your request for a copy, if it shall be judged any way likely to afford any entertainment to the rising generation, and ask the favor of a little further time to think of the affair. I am with much esteem, gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

' C. ROBBINS.'

February 24th. At a meeting, the following letter, (together with the anniversary sermon in manuscript,) was this night received from the Rev. Mr. Robbins.

Plymouth, Feb. 28, 1773.

' FRIENDS AND GENTLEMEN: Having considered your request to me for a copy of my sermon, preached at the last anniversary, &c.' partly from the desire of others, who can never expect that benefit from the *larger* histories of those times which you, gentlemen, and many others may enjoy ; but, chiefly, in gratification of the request of your society, to whom I acknowledge myself under obligations for their candor and

respect, I now present you a copy of said sermon, with liberty to make what use of it you shall think proper; and am, gentlemen, with much esteem, your obliged friend and humble servant,

C. ROBBINS.'

'*The Old Colony Club.*'

November 24th. At a meeting of the club, James Warren, Esq., Mr. John Torrey, and Mr. Thomas Jackson, came in and said, 'that they were a sub-committee (appointed by the committee of correspondence and communication of this town) for the purpose of informing this club of the determination of the said committee of correspondence relative to the celebration of the next 22d of December, and to request that the club would join with and conform thereto.' Voted, that the consideration of this matter be adjourned to the next club night, and that then a written answer be prepared, and on the Monday night following, be presented to the committee.

December 1st. At a meeting of the club, the committee chosen at the last club night to prepare an answer to the committee of correspondence, reported the following, which, being read and considered, was accepted, and ordered to be recorded.

'To the committee of communication and correspondence of the town of Plymouth.

'GENTLEMEN: The Old Colony Club received your message by your sub-committee, with your determination in what way and manner the ensuing anniversary of the 22d of December shall be solemnized and celebrated, with a request that we would join with and conform thereto. We have fully, liberally, and candidly considered thereof, and in answer would observe, that this club are not, nor ever have been, anxious or desirous of taking the lead and direction, or marshalling and regulating the public solemnities and particular rights and ceremonies of that important day, having always invited the gentlemen of the town to a consultation previous to any determination, and having ever acted by and with the advice and consent of the gentlemen present, and not *ex parte*, as may appear from the records of our proceedings on those occasions. Justice to ourselves, however, emboldens us to say, that, as we were the first institutors of this festival, and as no event has taken place to lessen our dignity or consequence as a club since the last anniversary, we have a right to be consulted on the manner of celebrating it, whether the same be taken into consideration by the gentlemen of the town, county, or colony. As gentlemen of the town, we will not dispute your right of acting in

this matter, in conjunction with others, but as a committee of correspondence, &c. (in which name and capacity you have accosted us) we absolutely deny your jurisdiction and authority. By the records of this town it appears, that you were chosen 'to communicate and correspond with the town of Boston and other towns;' and in this business we would not interfere or molest you. But we apprehend that your constituents had no more idea or suspicion of your interfering in these matters, (as a committee of correspondence,) than they had of your regulating or altering their creed, or their catechism. And it appears to us that you have just the same right to meddle with the one as the other, or indeed, to determine any civil, religious, or military matter, that has or may arise within our town.—This partial and extra-judicial way of proceeding, we apprehend, will have a tendency to promote parties and divisions, (which have already too long harrassed and convulsed this once peaceful town,) rather than that harmony and concord, so necessary to the welfare of all societies.

'But should we admit your right of acting as a committee of correspondence, we cannot suppose so great an absurdity as the counteracting your own vote and determination, without some sufficient reason. You must remember, that these matters were fairly discussed and settled by the gentlemen of the town in general, and the members of this club, and that by and with the consent, approbation, and vote of a majority of the now members of your committee. For at a meeting of a large and respectable number of the gentlemen of this town with the club at Old Colony Hall, on the sixth day of January last, for the very purposes of adjusting and settling the matters relative to the celebration of the ensuing anniversary, among whom were a major part of your committee, it was unanimously voted, 'that the club should write to the Rev. Mr. Turner, and request him to preach a sermon on the next 22d of December, &c.'—In consequence of which, the club wrote to Mr. Turner, and afterwards received his answer in the affirmative, (directed to the club,) as may also appear by our record. At the same meeting it was also moved and agreed to, that as the club were the original institutors, it was most proper for them to have the direction of the minute or lesser matters relative to the celebration. We are now, and always have been, ready and willing to concur with any measure which may conduce to the harmonious and agreeable celebration of this anniversary, in commemoration of the landing of our forefathers in this place. We think it ought to be, and we hope it ever will be, kept and observed by the gentlemen of this town, county, and

colony socially, and like a band of brethren,—nor would we contend for trifles or punctilios. But your plan and proceedings, without advising with or consulting the other gentlemen of the town, or the club, appear to us so great an invasion of the liberty and privileges of the gentlemen of the town of Plymouth, and the Old Colony Club, that we cannot approve or comply with the same.

'Dec. 1st, 1773.'

December 8. At a meeting of Old Colony Club,

Voted, that the club, together with such gentlemen as please to join them from this or the neighboring towns, will dine together at Mr. Witherell's, upon the ensuing anniversary, and that the clerk of this club send a copy of this vote to the Rev. Mr. Turner and inform him that the club expect the pleasure of his company on that day.

Voted, that the club and their friends will spend the anniversary evening at the hall.

Voted, that the Rev. Mr. Bacon, and the Rev. Mr. Robbins, and all the social club, be invited to dine and spend the evening, as also such other gentlemen of the clergy as may be in town.

The reader cannot fail of being impressed with a sense of gratitude for the valuable reminiscences transmitted by the Old Colony Club; and it is a matter of regret that its existence had not been protracted to a later period: but unfortunately, some of the members were attached to the royal interest, and it was deemed expedient that the club should be dissolved.

This society possessed a library and museum. Of the respectable members not one now survives.

Among their invited guests at various times we notice the following distinguished names, of high standing in the political and fashionable world.

John Adams, Robert T. Paine, Daniel Leonard, Col. Thomas Oliver, Richard Leachmur, Nathan Cushing, Peleg Wadsworth, William Sever,* Benjamin Kent, Gen. John Winslow, and Dr. Charles Stockbridge.

* Hon. William Sever resided in Kingston, and died in 1809, aged 79 years. This gentlemen ought to be held in remembrance, as a man of high standing in society. He was, in principle, a staunch whig, and our country was benefited by his influence and example during the revolution. The late President Adams once spoke of him as the "salt of the earth." The Rev. Dr. Dwight, in his Journal of travels, in that part which relates to the Old Colony, observes that "Mr. Sever was the most respectable and worthy character he

1770.—*Non-intercourse with Great Britain.*—A large proportion of the respectable merchants of Boston came into a non-intercourse agreement against Great Britain, and sent circular letters to this and other towns for their co-operation. The town voted, March 26th, that they will contribute all in their power to support them in their laudable purpose of repelling tyranny and oppression; and voted the thanks of the town to the town of Boston for the firm and spirited opposition which they have made to the tyrannical attempts of the British government to enslave our country, and that we will at all times assist them in such vigorous and constitutional measures as they shall adopt for the preservation of our common rights. Voted also, that we will encourage and support the non-intercourse agreement, and will encourage frugality, industry, and the manufactures of our country, discouraging the use of foreign superfluities, particularly the article of foreign tea. A committee of inspection was chosen to inquire, from time to time, if any person should directly or indirectly contravene the above measures. Should any one be detected in importing goods, or of purchasing of those who import, their names are to be published in the newspapers, and to be reported to the next town-meeting. It was at this period that Governor Hutchinson, and his adherents, represented the party in opposition to British measures as only an uneasy factious few in Boston, while the body of the people were quite contented.

It is stated in the histories of the war, by both Gordon, and Mrs. Warren, and copied into Marshall's life of Washington, that James Warren, Esq., and Samuel Adams, Esq., while at Plymouth, originated the famous committee of correspondence in the several towns of the colony, but Samuel A. Wells, Esq. of Boston, assures me that, from the most thorough investigation, he has ascertained that General Warren had no share whatever in originating those committees, but that Samuel Adams was the original proposer, and is alone entitled to the honor. I have also been assured by Z. Bartlett, Esq. that Mr. Samuel Cole, late of this town, informed him that he first suggested the idea of committee of correspondence to Mr.

had known." He was, for many years, Judge of Probate for the county of Plymouth. But I venerated him the more on account of the remarkable similarity in his person and appearance to General Washington. The resemblance in erect form and in dignity of manners, was so peculiarly striking, that the comparison was almost perfect, and my interviews with him brought to my mind the most delightful recollections.

Stephen Sampson, and that they conversed with General Warren on the subject, who communicated with Mr. Samuel Adams, and the scheme, being approved by them, was immediately adopted.

1772.—It appears by the town records, that, at a legal meeting of the town, November 24th, 1772, the petition of Mr. Thomas Jackson and one hundred other inhabitants was read, setting forth the alarming situation of our country in consequence of the tyrannical measures of the British Parliament, and praying that the town would take the subject into consideration. It was thereon voted to choose a standing committee of correspondence and communication, who shall freely, from time to time, communicate and correspond with the town of Boston, and any other town on the subject of our present difficulties, and of the measures proper to be taken on the occasion, they to apply to the selectmen to call a town-meeting, on any emergency, to consider of any intelligence of importance they may receive, and to act and do what further they may then think proper. The following persons were then chosen to compose the committee.

James Warren,	Elkanah Watson,
John Torrey,	William Watson,
Stephen Sampson,	Thomas Lothrop,
Samuel Cole,	Nathaniel Torrey,
Ephraim Cobb,	Thomas Mayhew,
Dr. William Thomas,	Isaac Lothrop.
Thomas Jackson,	

The petition above mentioned enumerated, among their grievances, the violation of our rights and the repeated attacks made on our constitution, in taxation without our consent, extension of admiralty jurisdiction, with the quartering of soldiers in the town of Boston, the lawless insolence and murders they have committed, * with the contemptuous and unconstitutional treatment of our General Court from time to time, making the Governor independent of the people, and many other illegal acts, from the memorable era of the stamp act.

1773.—*December*.—Parliament having passed an act enabling the East India Company in London to export their teas to America, subject to an unconstitutional tax or tribute, the town resolved, that the dangerous nature and tendency of importing teas as proposed, subject to a tax upon us without our consent, is alarming, and ought to be opposed. And further, that the persons to whom the said India company have consigned their

* Alluding to the massacre of 5th of March, 1770.

tea which they propose to send to Boston, have, by their endeavoring to accept of and execute their commission, forfeited that protection every good citizen is entitled to, and exposed themselves and their abettors to the indignation and resentment of all good citizens. That it is an affront to the common sense of mankind, and to the majesty of the people, who are, under God, the source from which is derived all power and majesty in every community, to assert, that any meeting of the people to concert measures for their common security and happiness on every extraordinary and alarming occasion, is either unlawful or irregular, since no legislature could be supposed to establish rules of conduct in such cases as no man could ever suppose would take place in a free and good government. That the late meetings of a very large and respectable body of the inhabitants of Boston and other towns, and their determination at said meetings relative to the importation and reshipping of any teas that have or may be sent here subject to a duty on importation, were both necessary and laudable, and highly deserving the gratitude of all who are interested in, or wish the prosperity of, America.

It was voted that we are in duty and gratitude bound not only to acknowledge our obligations to the body who composed that meeting, for that noble, generous, and spirited conduct in the common cause, but also to aid and support them in carrying their votes and resolves into execution; and we will, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, exert our whole force to defend them against the violence and wickedness of all our common enemies.

It appeared to be the firm determination of the inhabitants of this town, that so long as a compulsory tone was assumed by the parent country, so long the tone of defiance ought to be maintained by the patriotic people of the Provinces. 'For oppression will make a wise man mad.'

On Monday, 13th December, at the adjournment of the town meeting, Edward Winslow and others presented a protest against the resolves and proceedings of the last meeting, but the town voted not to have it read.

1774.—The inhabitants of the town, animated by the glorious spirit of liberty which pervaded the Province, and mindful of the precious relic of our forefathers, resolved to consecrate the rock on which they landed to the shrine of liberty. Col. Theophilus Cotton, and a large number of the inhabitants assembled, with about 20 yoke of oxen, for the purpose of its removal. The rock was elevated from its bed by means of large screws; and in attempting to mount it on the carriage, it split asunder, without any violence. As no one had observed a flaw, the circumstance occasioned some surprise. It is not strange that

some of the patriots of the day should be disposed to indulge a little in superstition, when in favor of their good cause. The separation of the rock was construed to be ominous of a division of the British Empire. The question was now to be decided whether both parts should be removed, and being decided in the negative, the bottom part was dropped again into its original bed, where it still remains, a few inches above the surface of the earth, at the head of the wharf. The upper portion, weighing many tons, was conveyed to the liberty pole square, front of the meeting-house, where, we believe, waved over it a flag with the far-famed motto, 'Liberty or death.' This part of the rock was, on the 4th of July, 1834, removed to Pilgrim Hall, and placed in front of that edifice under the charge of the Pilgrim Society. A procession was formed on this occasion, and passed over Cole's hill, where lie the ashes of those who died the first winter.

A miniature representation of the Mayflower followed in the procession, placed in a car decorated with flowers, and drawn by six boys. The procession was preceded by the children of both sexes of the several schools in town. On depositing the rock in front of the hall, a volley of small arms was fired over it by the Standish Guards, after which, an appropriate address was delivered by Dr. Charles Cotton, and the services were closed by a prayer by Rev. Dr. Kendall.

It affords the highest satisfaction to announce that the long desired protection of the Forefathers' rock is at length completed; and it may be pronounced a noble structure, serving the double purpose of security to the rock, and a monument to the Pilgrims. The fabric was erected in June of the present year, (1835,) and consists of a perfect ellipse forty-one feet in perimeter, formed of wrought iron bars, five feet high, resting on a base of hammered granite. The heads of the perpendicular bars are harpoons and boat-hooks alternately. The whole is embellished with emblematic figures of cast iron. The base of the railing is studded with emblems of marine shells, placed alternately reversed, having a striking effect. The upper part of the railing is encircled with a wreath of iron castings in imitation of heraldry curtains, fringed with festoons; of these are forty-one; bearing the names in bass-relief of the forty-one puritan fathers who signed the memorable compact while in the cabin of the Mayflower at Cape Cod, in 1620. This valuable and interesting acquisition, reflects honor on all who have taken an interest in the undertaking. In the original design by George W. Brimmer, Esq., ingenuity and correct taste are displayed; and in all its parts, the work is executed with much judgment

and skill. The castings are executed in the most improved style of the art. This appropriate memorial will last for ages, and the names and story of the great founders of our nation will be made familiar to the latest generation.

THE MONUMENT AROUND FOREFATHER'S ROCK.—This monument cost four hundred dollars. The fund was obtained by subscription; Lieut. Gov. Armstrong heading the paper, and Samuel T. Tisdale, Esq. of New York, contributing one hundred dollars. The author of this work had the honor and satisfaction of being the active agent in its execution.

At a town meeting, March 24th. As the committee of correspondence had not been altogether successful in preventing the sale of tea, it was resolved that whoever continues to sell, or shall for the future expose to sale, in this town, any India tea, is, and ought to be considered as an enemy to the rights of America and the constitution of the country. And we will have no intercourse or dealings with such persons, till there be a change in the circumstances of the country, which will justify such conduct, and that we will consider as inimical to this country, all those who shall have any dealings with them.

August 15th, voted to return our sincere and hearty thanks to the town of Boston, for their patience and virtue under their present sufferings in the common cause of America, and also voted to choose a committee to collect all such sums of money, or articles that any persons will give in the town, for the support of the suffering poor of said town of Boston, to enable them still to persevere with firmness and fortitude under their sufferings. Goods and provisions to a considerable amount were contributed in this town for the poor in Boston on this serious occasion.

Then voted, that whereas a certain publication in the Massachusetts Gazette, of July 14th last, purporting to be the cordial congratulations of the Justices of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the county of Plymouth, to his excellency Thomas Gage, Esq. on his appointment to the high office of first magistrate of this Province, &c. contains injurious reflections on, and *illiberal insinuations* concerning the body of the clergy, and the committees of correspondence in the several towns in this Province, as if the said commissioners had assumed a title and business without the appointment of their several towns, and had been encouraged and supported by the clergy in an unjustifiable influence on the people,—We, the inhabitants of the town of Plymouth, the shire town of said county, conceive it our duty to bear our testimony against such publication, its aiders and abettors, and therefore vote and resolve :

1. That we ourselves, and we conceive by far the greater part of the country, have a great respect for the clergy in this province, and the conduct of a majority of them relative to the political circumstances of the country. 2. That the committee of correspondence of this town, and we conceive those of the other towns where they subsist, were regularly appointed by their several towns for very valuable purposes, and have answered the expectations of their constituents, and are therefore entitled to countenance and respect from all men and bodies of men. 3. That the solemn league and covenants entering into, appear to us calculated to increase the honor and dignity of the sovereign, to promote the true interest of our parent country, and to restore the harmony of society.

Sept. 19th.—Chose a committee of nine to watch and make discovery of any one importing or selling tea, and report to the committee of correspondence. Afterwards added ten more to the committee, and enjoined the strictest vigilance. Chose James Warren, Esq. and Isaac Lothrop, Esq. representatives, and the following instructions were given:—‘Being apprehensive that the chief design of convening the general assembly at this unusual season of the year, is to make trial whether we will, in whole or in part, submit to the late acts of parliament respecting this Province, and it being our fixed sentiment that said acts are cruel, unjust and oppressive, subversive of our most sacred rights, we cannot in conscience advise to the least submission, but on the contrary, expect and desire our said representatives to oppose them to the utmost, in all proper ways and methods strictly adhering to our charter rights and privileges: more particularly we enjoin them by no means to co-operate or act in concert with the new set of mandamus counselors, whose appointment is founded on the destruction of our charter which we hold sacred and inviolable in all its parts; and no power on earth has a right to disannul it, and God forbid that we should give up the inheritance of our fathers, or tamely submit to the efforts of despotism and the loss of freedom.—And gentlemen, if in consequence of such opposition from you and others, the general assembly should be dissolved, or otherwise hindered from acting, we expect a Provincial Congress will be immediately formed, and that you will act as members of it; concerning such measures with our brethren of other towns, as will have the most effectual tendency to shake off the yoke of oppression, and prevent the operation of those acts of which we so justly complain.’ A company of minutemen was raised and provided for by the town, about this time.

1775.—*January.* The awful crisis was evidently approach-

ing, which should decide the momentous question whether the colonies were to be subjected to abject slavery, or their unalienable rights and liberties secured upon a substantial foundation.

The magnanimity with which the inhabitants of this town encountered the hazardous contest, was not surpassed by any in the province, and few towns in New England were subjected to greater sacrifices. The cod fishery was almost the sole support of the town; seventy-five schooners were employed in that service in 1774, and it was well known that not a sail could pass from the harbor after the commencement of hostilities. The wealthiest merchants could anticipate nothing but the most mortifying embarrassments, and the poor could have no better prospect than starvation. July 20th, was appointed by the continental Congress, to be observed by the inhabitants of all the colonies as a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer.

James Warren, Esq. and Isaac Lothrop, Esq. were chosen to represent the town in provincial congress, and the following were their instructions:—

‘Gentlemen: You are chosen to represent us in provincial congress, at a time when we not only suffer in common with our sister colonies, the evil effects of the tyranny of the British government, but when we have to struggle with additional difficulties and embarrassments peculiar to our situation here. Oppression has taken her principal residence, and is exerting her most strenuous efforts, aided and supported by mandamus counsellors, commissioners of the customs with all their tools and dependents, as perhaps are not to be paralleled in any other country under heaven, and these backed by a large naval and land force from Great Britain, for the purpose of effectually subduing this province, and reducing us to a state of vassalage and abject slavery,—while we, embarrassed with difficulties arising from a want of the exercise of the power of government, and by a suspension of executive justice, are unable to make any vigorous opposition. We are sensible of the many difficulties the congress have to encounter, and the important business they have to transact, and, among the rest, that very important one of assuming the exercise and administration of civil government; this we presume to be a part of their business, because important, and, as we think, absolutely necessary to be done, and therefore, instruct you to use your endeavors to effect it. We admire the prudence, the patience, and, in short, the remarkable virtue of the people of this province, which alone for many months has supported that justice, peace, and good order, which has so generally prevailed; but we dare not haz-

ard the remaining any longer in such a situation: feeble must be our efforts and precarious our happiness, while the first rests only on recommendations, without the sanction and penalties of laws to enforce them, and the last is exposed to the interested malice and collective strength of our enemies, encouraged by the weakness and temerity of some of our friends: we therefore, have thought it our duty, under these many and peculiar difficult circumstances, to aid and assist you by our advice and instructions, and we do repeatedly enjoin it upon you, that, (unless you meet certain and undoubted intelligence that our grievances are or will immediately be redressed) you without delay unite your votes and influence for establishing a form of government as free, as stable, and vigorous, and in all respects as advantageous to the good people of this province as possible. That we may be able to defeat the designs of our enemies, and again sit down in peace and safety under our own vine and fig tree: leaving it nevertheless, to your prudence and discretion, if any unforeseen circumstance should take place, to act in such a way and manner as you shall think most beneficial to the interest of this province.'

Then voted, to choose a committee of vigilance to watch the conduct of tories, &c. It was voted to erect a fort on Cole's Hill, and great exertions were made to procure powder for the use of the town. Voted, that any person who shall fire at birds, contrary to the vote of the town, shall have their guns taken from them, and their names entered on the list of offenders. The whole community was divided into two opposing political parties, designated by the epithets of whig and tory.—The whigs forming an immense majority, were the ruling party. The operation of the laws was suspended; there was no efficient legal government, no legal tribunals in existence; the selectmen of towns and committees of safety were voluntarily acknowledged as the paramount authority. Although every individual claimed unrestrained liberty, few enormities were committed. But the poor tories, however honest in their views, were subjected to peculiar hardships; free liberty was not allowed to them. The modes of disciplining the tories were various and singular. The public authorities required a full recantation, and a declaration to that effect was published with their signatures in the newspapers. Some of the papers were crowded with these tory acknowledgments. When the populace assumed mob authority, the offenders were subjected to the greatest indignity. In some places they adopted a novel mode, which they called smoking the tories, which was done by confining them in a room with a fire and the top of the chimney

covered. Sometimes a coat of tar and feathers was applied. It was not uncommon to transfer the punishment to the man's horse, by cropping his ears and shaving his tail. This town was not encumbered with an over proportion of disaffected people. Some, indeed, there were, who for years had enjoyed the emoluments and benefits of the royal government, and were not yet convinced that the fountain had become corrupt, and that meandering streams, impregnated with the foulest ingredients, were undermining the blessed heritage of their fathers.— They were not prepared to absolve their consciences from the duties enjoined by the holy axiom, 'Fear God, and honor the king.' Another portion of this class of people, stood aloof from the duties and proceedings which the great crisis required, not so much from unworthy or sinister motives, as from a timid and pusillanimous spirit, viewing the project of a warfare with so potent an antagonist as an herculean labor, far exceeding the abilities of those champions who had undertaken the tremendous experiment. They conceived that a single campaign would annihilate our army and resources, and all who appeared under the colonial standard would fall a sacrifice, as traitors and rebels. About ten or twelve inhabitants of this town were accused of being enemies to their country, and were taken by warrants and arraigned before the town for examination, but, on rendering satisfactory assurance of peaceable behavior, were liberated.

A few of the obnoxious royalists abandoned their native town, but those who remained became peaceable citizens, and submitted to the general laws and proceedings. There were, however, a few instances of the turbulent and incorrigible being brought to the liberty pole, and compelled to subscribe to a recantation of sentiment. The town authority was not known to stain its reputation by any unjustifiable severities, or riotous proceedings. In one instance, however, an individual received some severe discipline from indiscreet persons. A man by the name of Dunbar, brought to the market a beef ox, which it was discovered had been slaughtered by a tory in town, who being a notorious offender against the ruling party, a number of persons assembled, enclosed Dunbar in the carcass, and tied the tripe round his neck, and he was, in that condition carted out of town. Subsequently to this catastrophe, Dunbar had the imprudence to appear again, on horseback. He was ordered to quit the town without delay, but with a turbulent and obstinate air, he refused to obey. He was then tied on his horse, and escorted to some distance, during which he was so extremely outrageous as to suffer considerable injury, and at

length a cart was procured, in which he was conveyed beyond the limits of the town.

In one instance, the tories in Barnstable availed themselves of liberty-pole discipline. Mr. C. and sons had rendered themselves odious to the people by their active zeal in the royal cause, and a vindictive temper towards the whig party; a widow woman frequently indulged herself in applying to them the epithet tory, and even intimated a liberty-pole exhibition. This indiscretion was not to be passed with impunity; a number of men in disguise entered her chamber in the night, took her from her bed, and after the application of tar and feathers, she was, by a rope round her body, hoisted almost to the top of the pole which had been erected by the whigs. Her dreadful shrieks soon collected a throng of people, but the poor woman could obtain no other redress than that bestowed by her friends, who kindly shaved her head, and cleansed it of tar and feathers.

An innocent trick was devised by some persons in this town, which occasioned at that time a general surprise and agitation. An egg was produced with the following words imprinted on the shell by the artifice of some tories. '*O America, America, Howe shall be thy conqueror.*' The egg being taken from the hen roost of Mr. H. and exhibited to a concourse of people assembled for public worship excited the greatest agitation, and the meeting was for some time suspended. The tories affected to believe that the phenomenon was supernatural, and a revelation from heaven favoring their cause and predictions; and some whigs were ready to fall into the delusion, when one less credulous, observed that it was absurd to suppose that the Almighty would reveal his decrees to man through the medium of an old hen. Thus ended the farce; but the story of the egg was the subject of newspaper speculation in various parts of the country, and the alarm which it occasioned in the minds of some people here was truly astonishing.

In the year 1775, General Gage ordered a company of king's troops, called the 'Queen's guards,' commanded by captain Balfour, to be stationed at Marshfield, for the protection of some royalists. Captain Balfour, and his officers soon made themselves acquainted with the friends of the royal cause in this town. Their visits here were not pleasing to the tories, as the whig party was known to be in a state of such ferment, that a small spark might kindle a blaze, and create a fatal collision. They were, however, invited to dine with Edward Winslow, Esq., in company with a number of respectable gentlemen of their party in town. Captain Balfour desired to have the opinion of the company present, on the expediency of marching

his company of guards into Plymouth. In discussing the subject, one of the gentlemen, Mr. John Watson, was observed to be silent. Captain Balfour took him aside, and said, 'Mr. Watson, I observed that you gave no opinion respecting my proposal, I should be glad to have your opinion and advice on the subject.' Mr. Watson replied, 'It is my opinion that it will not be prudent to bring your company here, for the people are in a state of great excitement and alarm.' 'Will they fight?' says Balfour. 'Yes,' replied Watson, 'like devils.' On further consideration, the plan was wisely abandoned, from an apprehension of the consequences. Had the company marched into town, they would have found a large majority of its inhabitants proud of the seat and character of their ancestors, and determined to transmit them to posterity, that they may inhale with their earliest breath a love of liberty and the people's rights. Under such circumstances, it is highly probable that a collision would have taken place, and the first battle been fought at Plymouth instead of Lexington. While stationed at Marshfield, Captain Balfour and his officers frequently visited their friends at Plymouth. On one of these visits, umbrage was taken by some of the *watchful* sons of liberty, one of whom asserted that an officer had menaced, with a drawn sword, an individual in the street: a numerous collection of people soon were prepared to avenge in a spirited manner the insult, whether real or pretended. The officer was obliged to retreat and enter an apothecary's shop occupied by Dr. Hicks, a tory, for safety.* The shop was soon surrounded, and the officer's sword peremptorily demanded. So resolute were the assailants that the sword was forced from the officer, and instantly cut into several pieces. These particulars have recently been related to the author by captain W. Weston, who was standing by at the time, and who preserved a piece of the sword, and thinks it may still be found. This account is essentially confirmed by R. Cotton, Esq. and others who were present.

Capt. Balfour, with his company remained at Marshfield for several weeks unmolested, but the day after Lexington battle, governor Gage, apprised of their danger, took off his troops, by water, to Boston.

At this period, minute companies were organized in town, and immediately on hearing of the bloodshed at Lexington, Col. Theophilus Cotton, of this town, marched to Marshfield with a

* The shop occupied by Dr. Hicks, was the one attached to the house of Captain Cornelius White, now occupied by Dr. N. Hayward.

detachment of militia under his command. There were at the same time about sixty fishing vessels with their crews on board at anchor in Plymouth harbor. The fishermen voluntarily left their vessels, and speedily marched to Marshfield with their arms resolutely determined to attack the company of British troops. When arrived at Marshfield, their numbers had increased to near one thousand men, collected from the different towns, burning with the feelings of revenge: they might have surrounded and captured the whole company before they could get to their vessels, but were restrained by Col. Cotton, who it is said had received no orders for the attack. A company of fifty men belonging to this town was enrolled under the command of Capt. Nathaniel Morton, jr. who with other companies formed the detachment under Col. Cotton, which, after the affair at Marshfield, marched to Roxbury and joined the provincial army stationed there, where they continued through the year. They formed a part of the detachment ordered to throw up entrenchments on the heights of Dorchester, on the 4th of March, 1776, where the author was present in the capacity of surgeon's mate. From this period, through the whole revolutionary war, this town contributed its full proportion of officers and men for the continental service, a considerable number of whom were victims to the cause of their suffering country; and it would be gratifying could their names be transmitted to posterity, but no research in the writer's power could effect the desirable object.

Col. Theophilus Cotton was the son of Josiah Cotton, Esq. of this town, noticed in page 147. He was a zealous and active whig and patriot, served some time in the provincial army, and died February, 1782, aged sixty-six, leaving many children; one only, the widow of Capt. Charles Dyer, is still living in this town.

The colonies were now involved in actual hostilities with one of the most powerful nations in Europe, whose fleets and armies were at our doors. Our means of defence scarcely adequate to a single exigency, and opposition was considered by many as the extreme of folly and presumption. But appealing to Almighty God for the justness of their cause, the people resolved to buckle on their armor, and the motto, *Liberty or Death*, was every where displayed on their banners. The colonies had virtually absolved themselves from all British authority and laws, and were, by that authority, declared to be in a state of actual rebellion.

1776.—The momentous subject of independence, from Great Britain now called forth all the wisdom of our councils, and demanded the united energies and co-operation of the whole peo-

ple. Unanimity of sentiment, on a subject of such infinite importance, was not to be expected. Some, even of the wisest and best patriots, were extremely reluctant to exchange a noble, ancient edifice, ever held in honor, for simple materials of a novel structure, liable to be deracinated by uncertain contingencies. But hear the high-toned voice of our town on this great occasion.

May 10.—Instructions to the town's representatives in Provincial Congress :—

'GENTLEMEN : We, in the most solemn manner, charge you, that you use all your influence, that you exert every power in you vested, in defence of the rights, the liberties, and property of the American colonies in general, and of this colony in particular, in opposition to the efforts of the proud and imperious court of Great Britain, which seems to be lost to all sense of justice, and determined to deluge all America in blood and carnage, unless we, by a tame, unmanly submission, will put ourselves in their power, to be controlled by them as they please in all cases whatever. We, your constituents, resenting such insolent and notoriously unjust demands of the British parliament, and of their tyrannising king, instruct you; 1. That you without hesitation, be ready to declare for independence of Great Britain, in whom no confidence can be placed, provided the honorable the continental congress shall think that measure necessary, and we, for our parts, do assure you, that we will stand by the determination of the continental congress in the important, and, as we think, necessary measure, at the risk of our lives and fortunes. 2. We wish you to use your influence, that such a form of government may be adopted as may appear most salutary, and which may bid fairest to ensure a permanent harmony to the colonies, and the real happiness and prosperity of America, to the latest posterity. In particular, we recommend it to you to use your influence, that executive and legislative offices in the government do not meet in the same person.'

A British armed brig, commanded by Captain Dawson, appeared in our outer harbor, when two small privateers, one commanded by Captain Corban Barnes, the other by Captain Charles Dyer, both of this town, attempted to reconnoitre her; a number of shots were exchanged, but they finally separated without much damage on either side.

There is in Kingston a hill of great elevation, usually called Monk's Hill. In the early part of war, a tall mast was erected on this hill, on the top of which was placed a barrel of tar and other combustibles, as a signal of alarm on the approach of the *enemy*. Captain Manly having captured a number of British

prizes, made his appearance with other privateers like a formidable fleet in the bay. 'It is his majesty's fleet coming to burn the town,' said the tories. 'Fire the beacon and call in our country friends,' said the whigs. All was confusion and alarm, military music was heard in the streets, the minute-men were summoned to arms, and sentinels were posted at their stations. A man was despatched to Monk's Hill to fire the tar-barrel, the light and smoke ascended to the clouds, and spread the alarm, far and wide: soon the town was filled with armed men, who crowded into private houses, claiming to be fed as the defenders of the town, and were provided for accordingly. The agitation and bustle continued through the night, and in the morning the joyful tidings were proclaimed that the valiant Manly had entered the harbor with a number of valuable prizes!*

1777 and 1778.—The town experienced unexampled privations and sufferings in consequence of the loss of commerce and fishery, the whole sea coast and harbor being completely obstructed by the British armed vessels. The seamen of the town were driven almost to despair, some of them engaged as soldiers in the continental army, others shipped on board of privateers, leaving their families destitute, while the vessels belonging to the town were perishing at the wharves. Here were numerous examples of poverty without hope of relief; the community embroiled in party excitements, families and friends at variance and the glorious cause of our country in a state of awful suspense; still, however, the noble spirit of patriotism remained unbroken, and the fortitude and patience of the majority of the people were truly remarkable.

At this distressing period, complaints were made against several of the most respectable inhabitants, as being inimical and disaffected to the common cause, as appears recorded in the town's book as follows.

'To Thomas Mayhew, Esq., one of the justices of the peace of the county of Plymouth. I, the subscriber, clerk of the committee of correspondence, inspection and safety for the town of Plymouth, hereby represent to you a justice of peace in the county aforesaid, that there is in the opinion of said committee sufficient reason to suspect that the following persons, naming them, nine in number, residing in said town of Plymouth, within the state of Massachusetts Bay, are inimical to the United States; and you are requested upon this representa-

* The reader of Scott's novels will be reminded of the consternation produced among the good citizens of Fairport, by a similar mistake of Caxton and Edie Ochiltree.—*Antiquary*, vol. ii.

tion to proceed immediately against the above named persons, agreeably to an act of said state, passed the present session of the general court, entitled an act for prescribing and establishing an oath of fidelity and allegiance. By order of the committee of correspondence, &c.

ANDREW CROSWELL, *Clerk*.

Plymouth, February 11th, 1778.

In consequence of the foregoing representation, Thomas Mayhew, Esq. issued his warrant to the sheriff of the county, to notify the several persons therein named to appear on the 12th day of February to take the oath prescribed, which he performed accordingly. The assemblage of people on this novel occasion was very numerous, and considerable excitement and agitation were manifested. The persons arrested were tories, but highly respectable; they were treated with lenity, and having complied with the requirements of the law were liberated, and consequently found among our most peaceable and useful citizens.

1778.—*December 26th and 27th.* The inhabitants of this town were called to witness a catastrophe, truly appalling to humanity. The brig General Arnold, mounting 20 guns, having a crew of 105 men and boys, commanded by Captain James Magee of Boston, sailed from that port on Thursday, 24th of December, bound on a cruise. On Friday, anchored off Plymouth harbor, being destitute of a pilot. In the night a heavy gale drove her on the White Flat. She soon filled with water and it became necessary to cut away the masts. Unfortunately, a great disturbance was occasioned by intoxication among some of the seamen in the steerage, which was with difficulty quelled by the officers. A tremendous storm of wind and snow came on, and a considerable number of men died on Saturday afternoon and in the night. Three men, not of the crew, being on board, took the yawl, and passed eight or ten rods to the ice, and were taken on board a schooner that was frozen in. Had the boat been returned as promised, many lives would have been saved.

Sunday morning, the vessel was seen in a most distressful situation, enveloped in ice and snow, and the whole shore was frozen to a solid body of ice, the winds and waves raging with such dreadful violence that no possible relief could be afforded to the miserable sufferers. The inhabitants made every effort to reach the wreck in boats, but were obliged to put back, although aware that the seamen were in the arms of death, and when the miserable victims on board saw the boats returning leaving them in a condition of utter hopelessness, their spirits

were appalled, and numbers were seen to fall dead on the deck. On Monday, the inhabitants passed over the ice to the wreck. Here was presented a scene unutterably awful and distressing. It is scarcely possible for the human mind to conceive of a more appalling spectacle. The ship was sunk ten feet in the sand, the waves had been for about thirty-six hours sweeping the main deck, the men had crowded to the quarter deck, and even here they were obliged to pile together dead bodies to make room for the living. Seventy dead bodies frozen into all imaginable postures were strewed over the deck, or attached to the shrouds and spars; about thirty exhibited signs of life, but were unconscious whether in life or death. The bodies remained in the posture in which they died, the features dreadfully distorted; some were erect, some bending forward, some sitting with the head resting on the knees, and some with both arms extended, clinging to spars or some parts of the vessel. The few survivors and the dead bodies, were brought over the ice on sleds and boards, and the dead were piled on the floor of the court house, exhibiting a scene calculated to impress even the most callous heart with deep humility and sorrow. It has been said that the Rev. Mr. Robbins fainted when called to perform the religious solemnities. Those bodies that were to be deposited in coffins were first put into the town brook; a considerable number were seen floating on the water, fastened by ropes, that their form might be made to conform to the coffin. But about sixty were thrown into a large pit as they were taken from the vessel. This pit is in a hollow on the southwest side of the burial ground, and remains without a stone. The greater part of those who were found alive, expired soon after. Capt. Magee survived, and performed several profitable voyages afterwards. He abstained entirely from drinking ardent spirits, but was of opinion that he was greatly benefitted by putting rum into his boots. Those who drank rum were more immediate victims, several being found dead in the very spot where they drank it. A man named Downs, belonging to Barnstable, was apparently dead, but on being seen to move his eyelids, was put into a vessel of cold water for several hours, by which he was resuscitated, but with the most exquisite pain. He lost both of his feet, but lived many years after. Among those who perished were Dr. Mann, of Attleborough, Dr. Sears, Captain John Russell, of Barnstable, commander of the marines, and Lieutenant Daniel Hall. The two last were buried in one grave on the south side of the burial hill. *Note.*—It should be observed that when persons are exposed to intense cold there is always a propensity to sleep, but the moment it is indulged it becomes the sleep of death.

1779.—At a meeting of the town, Resolved, as the laws enacted by our provident ancestors, with wonderful wisdom and sagacity, for the establishment and regulation of schools, have diffused an universal spirit of knowledge and inquiry, not to be met with in other states or kingdoms, and have been a great means, under Providence, of preserving this people from the shackles fabricated for them by a foreign power, and as the preservation of the freedom, health, and vigor of the state depends in a great measure, upon the strictest attention being paid to this institution: Resolved, that the school committee be ordered to provide (if such one be not already provided) an able and faithful master to keep the grammar school in this town, possessed of such qualifications as are required by law.

The town was this year subjected to extreme difficulty and expense in raising soldiers for the army, and supporting their families in their absence, having been reduced to the necessity of selling real estate and hiring money for that purpose. They retained nevertheless the true and inflexible principles of patriotism, still resolved to defend the noble fabric which our fathers reared, and that if the star of their country's glory must set, its setting should be marked with the avenging hand of the oppressed. The inhabitants were divided into classes; each class was required to furnish one able-bodied man, to serve for a specified term in the continental army. The demand for such service, besides the common bounty allowed by congress, was very exorbitant, and on some occasions it was stipulated that the compensation should be paid in silver money, as the paper currency had become so depreciated that no confidence could be placed in its value.* At one period, a silver dollar would purchase one hundred in paper. A farmer in a neighboring town sold a cow in the spring for forty dollars, and in the next autumn he paid the whole sum for a goose for a thanksgiving dinner.

The whole Plymouth Bay and harbor were almost constantly infested with small picaroons, called '*shaving mills*.' One of these approached the shore at Manomet Ponds, on a Sunday, by which the town was so much alarmed that a company of militia, with a piece of cannon, marched to that place for the protection of the inhabitants, and on this occasion, as well as on several others, the people in that parish, that they might be prepared for defence, carried their fire-arms into the meeting house on the sabbath, and were firmly determined to resist to the uttermost every attack.

* The bounty given to the soldiers raised by the town of Plymouth, up to July 11, 1783, amounted to £3056.7.3. all in hard money

1781.—The town was reduced to the necessity of remonstrating to the general court, that, from the many peculiar difficulties, which they labored under by reason of the war, they were unable to pay the taxes, and procure the soldiers the clothing and provisions required of them, and praying for an abatement or remission of the same. The town voted to instruct their representative, Major Joshua Thomas, to use his influence that the general court make application to the congress, that our commissioners for negotiating a peace make it an article of indispensable necessity, that the fishery be restored to us, as being of the greatest importance to the town, having hitherto depended on it for support.

1782.—Captain Horatio Nelson, afterwards Lord Nelson, commander of the British ship, *Albermarle*, took a small schooner of 35 tons, in the bay, belonging to Plymouth. After she had been used as a tender for some days, Captain Thomas Davis, of this town, owner of the vessel, encouraged by the representations given by Nathaniel Carver, master of the vessel, (who with the crew had been liberated,) of the character and deportment of Captain Nelson, went on board, Captain Carver accompanying him. Some vegetables and fruit, which had been hastily collected after the frigate appeared in view of the town, were presented, and the vessel was generously restored, and a certificate was given by Captain Nelson that she was released. We honor the noble spirited hero who displays the qualities of humanity and benevolence.

1783.—This year is remarkable for a happy termination of the horrors of war, which had for eight years been an awful scourge to our country.

Through the goodness of Divine Providence, liberty and independence were obtained. From this era, the United States of America claim existence among the nations of the world, and no people have ever advanced with more rapid strides to pre-eminence in national glory and importance.

On the first of January this year, the author having terminated his services of seven and a half years in the American army, became a private citizen, and in March following commenced his professional career in the town of Plymouth. After having suffered the ravages and privations incident to a war of eight years continuance, the inhabitants of this town, in common with the general community, welcomed the return of peace with emotions of unfeigned gratitude and joy. Not a few had to lament the loss of friends; all were sufferers in their pecuniary interests, but the mighty boon obtained was deemed more

than sufficient remuneration for every sacrifice and privation. The town was reduced to a state of destitution, its navigation almost annihilated, a renewal of the former means of support was very precarious, and the taxes now were very heavy.

1785.—The town has been called to deplore the death of an estimable fellow-citizen, Capt. Thomas Davis, who died March 7th, aged 63 years. He was the head of the respectable firm of Davis & Spooner, for many years noted for probity and correctness in their mercantile transactions, and for integrity and benevolence of character. Captain Davis left six sons and one daughter; the latter, Sarah, married Le Baron Bradford, son of Lieut. Governor Bradford, of Bristol, R. I. Her only son Le Baron, still lives. The sons of Capt. Davis were Thomas, (see page 219;) William, John, now Judge of the District Court in Boston, and President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Samuel, Isaac and Wendell; the latter was by profession a lawyer, and was Sheriff of the county of Barnstable, and died at Sandwich, 1831. His remains are deposited among his relatives in our burial ground.

In town-meeting December 26, 1785. Then voted, and directed the town treasurer to discount the debt due from the heirs of Mr. Thomas Davis, deceased, by paying the said estates, dues from the town, when the circumstances of the treasury will admit the same, taking into consideration the original gift of money by John Murdock, Esq., deceased, viz: the design of that gift.

1786.—This year is memorable for an alarming insurrection, instigated by Daniel Shays, which occasioned the greatest commotion throughout the New England States. There were, in almost every town, some who encouraged the insurgents; but in Plymouth, not an individual appeared openly to advocate their vile proceedings. The town instructed its representative to the general court, to use his influence to have suitable measures adopted for the removal of all grievances, and to quiet the minds of the people. That he oppose the emission of paper money, and discourage the importation of foreign superfluities, and articles of British manufacture, &c.

A detachment of the militia of this town was ordered to march to Taunton, to oppose the insurgents in their audacious purpose of preventing the sitting of the court of common pleas in that place. Gen. Nathaniel Goodwin marched at the head of a large detachment of militia from this and other towns. The writer of this article accompanied the expedition in the capacity of surgeon. A very formidable collection of insurgents made

their appearance, and arrayed themselves in a menacing attitude on Taunton Green. Gen. David Cobb, judge of the court at that place, assumed the command of the militia, and declared that he would on that day 'sit as a judge, or die as a general.' The result was a total dispersion of the insurgents without bloodshed.

Among the intrepid patriots who distinguished themselves in the naval service during our revolutionary contest, was Simeon Sampson, Esq. 'He was born in Kingston, in the year 1736. In youth he began a sea-faring life, and performed many important voyages in the employment of the merchants of Plymouth.' In the year 1762, Mr. Sampson was taken prisoner by the French, in a vessel belonging to Goodwin & Warren, which was redeemed by the captain for a large sum of money, and Mr. Sampson was left as a hostage for the payment of the ransom. From this imprisonment he escaped by assuming the dress of a female, and was soon restored to his family in Plymouth.

At the commencement of the revolutionary war, when a marine force was deemed necessary to protect our commerce from the depredations of the British cruisers, he was honored by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts with the appointment of the first naval captain in the service of the country. He immediately took the command of the brig *Independence*, belonging to the colony, and which was built at Kingston, under his direction. In this vessel, he was eminently successful, and in one cruise captured and sent in five prizes, among which was the *Roebuck*, Captain White, in the autumn of the year 1776. Immediately after this, he himself was captured by Capt. Dawson, of distinguished memory in these seas. Capt. Sampson did not surrender, until an engagement of a character as severe and bloody as perhaps is recorded in the annals of naval warfare. The skill and intrepidity manifested by him was applauded even by his enemies. Had he been sustained by all his men, he would undoubtedly have been the conqueror, rather than the vanquished. It is said in the gazette of that period, that he was driven to the awful necessity of running through the body two or three of his men, who abandoned their guns in the most trying moment of the conflict. One of these victims was his third lieutenant. Soon after his return from captivity, which was at Fort Cumberland, near Halifax, he was appointed commander of the brig *Hazard*, a public vessel belonging to the state. In this vessel he likewise took several prizes, among which was the ship *Live Oak*. In 1779 he was selected to the command of the packet ship *Mercury*, built at Plymouth, by Mr. John Peck, for Congress. She was employed to carry despatches to

our ministers in France. In this ship he returned from Nantz during the severe winter of 1780. Soon after which, he was promoted to the command of the *Mars*, a large ship, likewise belonging to the state, and in this vessel he was employed in the most responsible trust, in carrying despatches, and in one cruise carried out one of our ministers to Europe. The British flag ship *Trial* was captured by him while in the *Warren*. At the close of the war, he retired, like most of the faithful servants of our country, with a very scanty estate, and a numerous family dependent upon him for support.

In 1788, Capt. Sampson disposed of his mansion in Middle street, Plymouth, and purchased a farm in Plympton, where he terminated his earthly career by an apoplexy, June 22d, 1789, at the age of 53 years. He was buried upon his own farm, and afterwards his body was removed to the burying hill in Plymouth, where his grave is marked by an appropriate head stone.

Few naval officers stood higher in public estimation, and few citizens were more respected for domestic virtues, hospitality, and generous friendship.

In 1759, Capt. Sampson married Deborah Cushing, daughter of Seth Cushing, of Hingham, who survived him many years. She died at Homer, New York, in 1830, at the advanced age of 90 years.

The ancestors of Captain Sampson will be found among those who were distinguished in the Old Colony. His father was Peleg Sampson, a principal owner of the iron works at Middleborough, which were suppressed by the Crown. He was born in 1700, was a son of Isaac Sampson, who was born in 1660, and died in 1726. He married Lydia Standish, daughter of Alexander, and grand-daughter of Capt. Miles Standish and John Alden, two of the Mayflower pilgrims. The descendants of Capt. Sampson are not numerous. He left 5 children: 1, Lydia, the wife of William Goodwin, Esq., who died 1815; 2, Deborah, the wife first of Rev. E. Briggs, afterwards the second wife of William Goodwin, Esq., died December, 1833; 3, Mercy, wife of Major Levi Bradford; 4, George W. Sampson; 5, Maria, wife of Rev. Mr. Johnson. The three last still survive, and reside in the western part of the state of New York.

1793.—The inhabitants of this town celebrated the victories of the French republic over their invaders, by a grand civic festival. An animating address was delivered on the occasion by Rev. Dr. C. Robbins, which was published.

This year the town acted in accordance with the town of Boston, respecting the measures of neutrality, as recommended by President Washington.

1794.—Mrs. Elizabeth Russell, the lady of Hon. Thomas Russell, merchant of Boston, presented a bell to the town of Plymouth, the place of her nativity; on which occasion a vote of thanks was passed, and presented in handsome terms. This bell was imported from England, was finely toned, and weighed about five hundred and sixty-four pounds. It was unfortunately broken in the year 1801, when another was purchased by the town, of Col. Revere's manufacture, weighing about eight hundred pounds, which is still in use. The first notice of a bell in Plymouth is in 1679, probably the first used in New England.

1799.—In 1799 a singular accident occurred in town, which gave me considerable employment. The frame of a house belonging to Capt. John Paty, was erected, two stories high in front and three back, the ground falling away considerably in the rear. When the frame was put together, and from thirty to forty men were, most of them, on the highest floor and the roof, from some cause the whole frame fell to the ground on the lower side. This accident might have been fatal to numbers, but it is remarkable that no one was killed, and but one bone fractured; twenty-one were wounded, more or less severely, but all recovered.

1800.—*Death of Washington.* The reader may here be reminded that on the 14th December, 1799, the illustrious and beloved Washington paid the debt of nature, and that throughout the United States all classes of people mourned the event, as a great national calamity. It was recommended by the public authorities that the 22d of February, 1800, his birth-day, be consecrated, by the whole community, to the remembrance of the saviour of our country. Our town authorities directed the appropriate arrangements. All business was suspended, stores and shops were closed, the shipping in the harbor displayed emblems of mourning, divine service was performed in the sanctuary, where Rev. Mr. Kendall delivered a well-adapted sermon, which was published. Grief and sorrow were depicted on every countenance, and the whole people appeared unitedly, as one family, bewailing the death of its common father.

December 13.—Died in this town, Col. George Watson. 'The lives and deaths of but few men are more truly *enviable* than Col. Watson's. By an uniform dignity of manners and uprightness of conduct, he preserved the respectability of his family unsullied to the grave. From early life he entertained an invincible abhorrence of those excesses, which, while they enfeeble the constitution, make destructive inroads in the order of families, and harmony of society. In the meridian of his

days, and amidst the multifarious concerns and solitudes of commercial business, he formed a just estimate of the scenes *fleeting before him*, and looked forward to an inheritance *eternal in the heavens*. Becoming a member of the most ancient church of Christ in New England, he was exemplary in his observance of all the institutions of its primitive founders. Blessed with affluence, he was always ready to indulge benevolent propensities of his nature in affording relief to the necessitous. But the best eulogy is the spontaneous tribute of respect paid to his remains by the inhabitants of Plymouth, at a town-meeting convened in consequence of his death. By a recommendation in town-meeting the bell was tolled three hours on the day of his interment, the inhabitants suspended their usual business, by closing their shops and stores, and the shipping in the harbor displayed their flags half-mast high.

The lamented subject of the above eulogium was of an ancient and honorable family; he died at the advanced age of 83 years. Rev. Mr. Kendall preached a sermon on the occasion of his death, which was printed.

In person, Col. Watson was portly and well-proportioned, his countenance noble and placid, and his whole mien truly dignified. His urbanity and courtesy will long be remembered by all who enjoyed his acquaintance. He owned, and resided in the house on the south side of North street, now belonging to Mr. Abraham Jackson. The beautiful range of linden trees in front and rear of his house, he cultivated with peculiar pleasure, and delighted himself under their refreshing shade.

His children were three daughters. Mary married Elisha Hutchinson, Esq., son of the governor of Massachusetts, and died in England before her father; Sarah, who married Martin Brimmer, Esq., merchant, in Boston, and died in August, 1832; and Elizabeth, who married Hon. Thomas Russell, Esq., merchant, in Boston. After his decease, she married Sir Grenville Temple, and died at Rome about 1806, leaving three children.

1802.—William Thomas, a physician of extensive practice in Plymouth for more than half a century, was born in Boston in the year 1718, and died in 1802. He was a descendant in the sixth generation from William Thomas, of Welsh extract, who arrived in the colony, and settled in Marshfield, about 1630. He was in the medical staff in the hazardous and successful enterprise against Louisburg in 1745, and at Crown Point in 1758. Dr. Thomas took a very zealous part in the disputes with the mother country, that issued finally in independence. After the first blow was struck in the battle of Lexington, in 1775, he immediately joined himself and his family, consisting

of four sons, viz. Joshua, Joseph, John and Nathaniel, to the first formed revolutionary corps. The first named of his sons was *aide de camp* to Gen. Thomas, in the expedition to Canada in 1776, and after the peace judge of probate for the county of Plymouth. Joseph and John continued in the service during the war, the first, captain of artillery, and the last in the medical staff. On the peace, John established himself at Poughkeepsie in the state of New York, in the practice of his profession, and died in 1818, leaving a son and daughter. The other sons were settled in Plymouth—besides these there was a daughter, who married a gentleman by the name of Brick, and settled in Charlestown, N. Hampshire. Dr. Wm. Thomas was thrice married. The children named above were by the second wife, whose maiden name was Bridgham.

December 22. This anniversary of the landing of our Pilgrim fathers on our shore was celebrated in appropriate style, by an oration by Hon. John Quincy Adams, Esq. The interesting occasion and the celebrity of the orator drew together an immense assembly. The firing of cannon and the military parade preceded the assemblage of the people. The oration by Mr. Adams was a masterly piece of composition, rarely exceeded, and the eloquence displayed by the speaker impressed the audience with sensations of delight. An elegant public dinner was provided, and was followed by songs and toasts, and a ball closed the evening.

1803.—A committee was chosen by the town to inquire into the circumstances of the Indian lands in this town. They reported that the number of acres is 2,683, valued at \$14,140. The number of Indians in town were fourteen males and thirty-five females, with about 15 children under age. This land lies on the borders of Sandwich, at a place called Herring Pond.

1805.—The ship *Hibernia*, Captain Andrew Farrall, owner and commander, was wrecked on our beach January 28th. She sailed from Boston on the 26th instant, and being overtaken by a violent cold storm, was driven on the beach in the night. The captain and five of the seven seamen perished, and were buried together on our burial hill, where a stone is erected with a suitable inscription. Captain Farrall was aged 38 years, and was of respectable connexions in Ireland.

January 21st.—Died in Boston, Hon. Thomas Davis, Esq. He was born in Plymouth, 1756, and was the son of Capt. Thomas Davis. He received a good school education, which he completed under Alexander Scammell. Destined for commerce, while a youth, important concerns devolved upon him, in whose management he discovered that intelligence, integrity

and assiduity, which promised and secured success in enterprise. He mingled with the engagements of his busy avocation, inquiries into practical science, and became well versed in the history and principles of commerce, and the sound maxims and rational theories of government. The derangement of the municipal concerns of his native town, first induced him to engage in public affairs. Impoverished by the war, and embarrassed by the perplexities, which as often result from futile expedients as real distress, it required an intelligent, active, and persevering mind, to restore harmony, hope and enterprise. Mr. Davis effected it by his natural arrangements. He insisted on simplicity, order and punctuality. The result was credit and prosperity. His exertions and success acquired him the confidence of his townsmen, and produced an attachment which has ever been reciprocated. At an early age he was elected a representative of his native town to the general court, and for many years was continued in that station. From this period his whole life has been devoted to public concerns. In 1789, he was a member of the Convention to decide on the Federal Constitution. In 1792, he was elected a senator of this Commonwealth, by the county of Plymouth, and the same year was chosen the treasurer of the state, in which office he was continued during the constitutional term. On retiring from the treasury, he was twice elected a senator for the county of Suffolk, when he was unanimously chosen the first president of the Boston Marine Insurance Company, in 1799, which office he held until his death. Always in public life, Mr. Davis retired from the notoriety of a public character. He did not take the post of honor for public observation, but for the public good.

The treasury of the Commonwealth, at the time of the appointment of Mr. Davis to its direction, owing to our state debt, the emission of paper, our national depression after the peace, and the deficits in the collectors, was in a most chaotic state. The importance of public credit to our peace, honor, and prosperity, induced him to undertake the arduous task of bringing order out of confusion. His comprehensive mind embraced the whole extent of national obligation and national resource. Our debt was funded on his system, in which there are some of the peculiarities of genius which knows how to apply general principles with their exceptions. A sinking fund was established for its gradual discharge, which has been successful in its operations. A methodical arrangement was adopted in the treasury, and a strict punctuality faithfully observed and rigidly exacted. Our credit revived, our finances

proved adequate to our demands, which in the infancy of a civil establishment is not always proportionate to its ability; and at the close of Mr. Davis's constitutional term, his report of the state of the treasury secured him the thanks and approbation of those who best knew the extent of his services, while his successors, by pursuing his plans, afford additional evidence of their excellence.

As President of the Boston Marine Insurance Company he displayed the whole of his character. His prudence and judgment in the investment of their capital, his knowledge of the principles which applied to his office, and his justice and liberality in the adjustment of controversies, rendered him a director, counsellor and judge. As an evidence of almost unexampled confidence in his judgment and integrity, notwithstanding his interest in this corporation, most of the disputes that originated in the office were referred to his sole decision. He exerted here his usual assiduity, investigation and perseverance, and from a studious inquiry into the laws of insurance in all countries and ages, his opinions on this most intricate and perplexing branch of jurisprudence were respected, not only by the mercantile world, but by advocates of professional eminence.

His intellectual and moral career was endeared by his social and generous feelings. Through the silence of thought and the reserve of prudence, were visible the affections of his soul; and the irrefragable evidence of his amiable and friendly disposition is found in the warmest attachment of a numerous acquaintance. His charity was as diffusive as his mind was active, and his friends knew that he was a man who denied the sufferer 'nothing but his name.' When it is added to this that religion was the base and crown of his virtue, we must readily admit that his friends have not been too partial, and the world but just in their affection, confidence and praise.

In the year 1805, the New England Society of the city and state of New York was founded in that city. The prime object of this society was charity, as well as the formation of a bond of union and good fellowship among the descendants of New England. The numerous instances of charitable relief afforded from the ample funds of this highly respectable association redounds greatly to its honor. The indigent descendants of New England are exclusively the objects of this charity.

The anniversary of the landing of our pilgrim fathers is celebrated annually in New York, and the present number of members amounts to about one thousand. The presidents of the society have been—

James Watson,	Ebenezer Nevens,
Oliver Wolcott,	Lynde Catlin,
Amasa Jackson,	

For the present year 1835, the board of officers are
 Henry R. Storrs, *President*;
 Samuel A. Foote, *1st. vice President*;
 William Burns, *2d. vice President*;
 Robert Buloid, *Treasurer*.

Counsellors.

Elijah Mead,	Samuel T. Tisdale,
Thomas Fessenden,	Shephard Knapp.

There is also a New England society in Charleston, S. C. by which the anniversary is annually celebrated. The president is Daniel Crocker.

1806.—*December 22.* This was the 186th anniversary of the first landing of our puritan fathers. The inhabitants of this town, and those from neighboring towns entered into the appropriate religious solemnities of the occasion, with hearts glowing with gratitude to unite in the merited tribute of respect to our renowned sires. The discourse was delivered by Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., of Cambridge. A discourse coming from a learned divine whose soul is imbued with the spirit of the puritans, was exceedingly animating; interesting associations were revived, and a due sense of duty to God and gratitude to our fathers awakened and illustrated. A hymn, composed by Dr. Holmes for the occasion, was sung to the tune of Old Hundred, being read line by line by Deacon Spooner.* The services being closed, the company retired to a public social festival. A respectable number of ladies of this town, accompanied by strangers, associated together to partake of a dinner prepared for them in the hall over the Plymouth bank.

1808.—The enforcement of the embargo law occasioned great suffering throughout our commercial community. Navigation was entirely suspended, our harbors were crowded with dismantled vessels, and our seamen were deprived of employment, and the means of supporting their families.

* This alternate reading and singing in the tune of Old Hundred, by the venerable Deacon Spooner, in his peculiarly grave and plaintive manner, while in his brown wig and antique costume, formed one of the most striking parts of the performances, which can never be forgotten. A respectable southern lady present was so impressed with the scene, that her mind was excited to a high state of delight.

April.—The town passed a by-law, as follows, that if any person should be found smoking a cigar or pipe in any of the streets, lanes, wharves, yards or barns in this town, he or they shall forfeit and pay the sum of \$1 for every such offence, to be recovered by the firewards, or any other person, that shall prosecute and sue for the same, before any justice of the peace for the county of Plymouth, to be applied to the use of the poor of said town; and that parents and guardians, and masters of minors, shall be liable to pay the fine above said for their children, wards, or apprentices, who shall offend in this particular.

August.—A meeting of the town was called, by the request of 163 inhabitants, to present a petition to President Jefferson to take off the embargo. It was not uncommon to see seamen thronging the wharves, cursing the embargo, and the authors of it. They petitioned Mr. Jefferson that it might be taken off, if in his power, or that congress might be called together for the purpose. The petition expressed the deplorable situation to which the town was reduced, deprecating the policy of the measure and the horrid consequences of it, and closing thus; —‘Prohibitory laws that subject the citizens to grievous privations and sufferings, the policy of which is at least questionable, and the temptations to the violations of which from the nature of man, are almost irresistible, will gradually undermine the morals of society, and introduce a laxity of principle and contempt of the laws, more to be deplored than even the useless waste of property.

‘From these, and other weighty considerations, your memorialists pray the president, wholly or partially to suspend the embargo laws, if his powers are competent to that object, and if not, to convene Congress at an early period, that an immediate repeal of them may be obtained.’

To the above manly and decided petition, Mr. Jefferson returned an answer, the purport of which is: ‘To have submitted our rightful commerce to prohibitions and tributary exactions from others, would have been to surrender our independence. To resist them by arms was war, without consulting the state of things or the choice of the nation. The alternative preferred by the legislature, of suspending a commerce placed under such unexampled difficulties, besides saving to our citizens their property and our mariners to their country, has the peculiar advantage of giving time to the belligerent nations to revise a conduct, as contrary to their interest as it is to our own rights. In the event of such peace, or suspension of hostilities, between the belligerent powers of Europe, or of such

change in their measures affecting neutral commerce, as may render that of the United States sufficiently safe, in the judgment of the president, he is authorised to suspend the embargo; but no peace, or suspension of hostilities, no change of measures affecting neutral commerce, is known to have taken place. In fact, we have no information on which prudence would undertake a hasty change in our policy, even were the authority of the executive competent to such a decision. I should with great willingness have executed the wish of the inhabitants of Plymouth, had peace, or a repeal of the obnoxious edicts, or other changes produced the cause in which alone the laws have given me the authority, and so many motives of justice and interest lead to such changes, that we ought continually to expect them; but while these edicts remain, the legislature alone can prescribe the course to be pursued.'

July 25.—Died Isaac Lothrop, Esq., aged 73 years. He was born at Plymouth, December 11, 1736, and was the eldest of five children of Isaac Lothrop, Esq., mentioned in page 171. He was educated a merchant, but from the year 1778 he confined himself to his official duties as register of probate for the county, which office he retained till his death. The unbending uprightness that marked his conduct in this office, the ability and gentlemanly manner with which he discharged the duties of it, will long be remembered with affectionate respect. He cherished with lively ardor a natural fondness for antiquity; and so exalted was his veneration for the pious planters in New England, who first landed in this town, that he delighted in tracing their every footstep, and the minutest circumstances of their history were treasured in his mind. Hence, soon after the institution of the Historical Society, he was elected a member, and among the earliest members of the Humane Society he enrolled his name. In his friendships he was steady, ardent, sincere; undisguised in his feelings, and removed from the least tincture of duplicity, his bosom was the sacred depository of confidential intercourse. If his prejudices were strong, they were invariably pointed at what he devoutly believed to be profligacy in principle, or dishonesty in practice. Such in fine was Mr. Lothrop's scrupulous integrity, such his thorough detestation of every species of iniquitous, or even temporising procedure, that the inscription on the tombstone of his beloved father, would be an appropriate one for his own. (See page 171.)

Hon. James Warren.—This gentleman, a lineal descendant of Richard Warren, who came over in the Mayflower, was born in Plymouth in the year 1726, and was the son of James Warren, who held the office of sheriff of the county of Plymouth, under the royal government. Having graduated at

Harvard College, in 1745, he directed his attention to commercial affairs, and became a respectable merchant; after the death of his father, who left him a handsome estate, he was appointed to the office of sheriff, which he retained until the commencement of the war with Great Britain. In May, 1766, he was chosen a member of the general court from Plymouth, and he uniformly supported the rights of his country against the pretensions of Parliament. His education, abilities, and integrity, eminently qualified him to stand forth at a crisis when talent, principle, and energy were required to devise and execute measures of resistance with unshaken firmness. He has the reputation of originating, in conjunction with Samuel Adams, the plan of *committees of safety* and *correspondence* in the various towns and counties. He was, in 1775, chosen a member of the provincial congress, and, immediately after the death of Gen. Joseph Warren, he was appointed as his successor, as president of that honorable body. While the army lay at Cambridge, in 1775, he was made paymaster general, but in the following year, when the troops marched to New York, he resigned. In 1776, he was appointed Major General of the militia of Massachusetts, but never acted in that capacity. After the formation of the constitution of this state, he was, for many years, speaker of the house of representatives. He was elected lieutenant governor under Hancock, in 1780, but declined the office, as he did, also, that of judge of the supreme court, to which he had been appointed. He accepted, however, from congress, the appointment of commissioner of the navy board, at that time an arduous and responsible office, in which he served for some time.

At the close of the war, General Warren retired from public employment to enjoy domestic ease and leisure, and devoted the remainder of his life principally to agricultural improvements on his farm, and to the cultivation of the virtues best becoming an exemplary and respected private citizen. He was drawn from his retirement, however, for a short period, to accept a seat in the council, and again, in 1804, when he performed the last act of his long labors for the public, in the discharge of the duty of an elector of president, giving his vote for Mr. Jefferson.

General Warren resided, for some years during the war, at the splendid seat at Milton, formerly belonging to Governor Hutchinson,* but returned to his former mansion in Plymouth,

* The famous *Hutchinson letters* were carried to General Warren's house, and read confidentially, before they were published.

at the corner of North street, where he died, November 28th, 1808, aged eighty-two years, venerable from his age, and the valuable services rendered to his country in the darkest and most trying periods of its history.

General Warren married the daughter of the Hon. James Otis, of Barnstable, and sister to the celebrated patriot and orator of that name. This lady was the author of a history of the war, and was, with her husband, a strenuous advocate of the principles of the revolution, and, subsequently, of the Jefferson administration and politics. She survived her husband about six years, and died in 1814, at the age of eighty-six.

They left two sons, James, who was, for several years, post-master here, and Henry, who, for many years, held the office of collector, for the district of Plymouth, and died July 6th, 1828, aged sixty-four years. This gentleman will long be remembered for his social qualities, his hospitality, and his gentlemanly deportment.

1809.—The town voted to petition the state legislators, that they devise and pursue such measures as their judgment shall dictate, to relieve the people from the severe pressure under which they are suffering from the embargo laws.

1812.—*July*. At a meeting of the town, on account of the momentous aspect of our public affairs, occasioned by an impending war, particularly distressing and ruinous to this section of our country, voted to memorialize the president on its impolicy and injustice, and to protest against an alliance with despotic France, whose friendship, more than its enmity, has been fatal to every other republic on the globe.

The town was unanimous for peace and not for war.

The memorial to the President, was couched in respectful, yet firm language, reprobating the whole system of commercial restrictions, by embargo and war, as absolutely ruinous to the best interest of our country, particularly the Eastern States. They entreat the President to interpose his power and influence to rescue them from scenes of horror, from the near prospects of which, hope, the solace of the wretched, flies away, and which, in their apprehensions, will endanger the existence of the social compact; praying him to avert the host of calamities that in repeated succession must follow a war with Great Britain.

When hostilities had actually commenced the memorial proceeds to reprobate the measure in the following strong language:—"Thus, Sir, with much brevity, but with a frankness that the magnitude of the occasion demands, they have expressed their honest sentiments upon the existing offensive war

against Great Britain, a war by which their dearest interest as men and christians is deeply affected, and in which they deliberately declare, as they cannot conscientiously, so they will not have any voluntary participation. They make this declaration with that paramount regard to their civil and religious obligations, which becomes the disciples of the Prince of Peace, whose kingdom is not of this world, and before whose impartial tribunal presidents and kings will be upon a level with the meanest of their fellow men, and will be responsible for all the blood they shed in wanton and unnecessary war. Impressed with these solemn considerations, with an ardent love of country and high respect for the union of the states, your memorialists entreat the president immediately to begin the work of peace, with that unaffected dignity and undisguised sincerity, which distinguished one of our illustrious predecessors, and they have the most satisfactory conviction, that upright, sincere efforts will secure success, while the land is undefiled with the blood of its citizens, and before the demon of slaughter, thirsting for human victims, 'cries havoc and lets slip the dogs of war.''' The town then passed several resolves, expressing, in the most unequivocal language, their disapprobation of the war. They then passed a resolution, disapproving the conduct of the representative of the district in congress, who advocated all the obnoxious war measures, and voted for the war,—which resolution, they voted should be sent to the said representative.

The arch stone bridge, over the town brook, was this year completed.

1813.—The ship Sally, belonging to Boston, put into this port from Canton, having, as passenger, a Chinese gentleman, Mr. Washey. He was a young man, tall and comely, but of dark complexion, of mild aspect, and pleasing manners. He attended public worship on the Sabbath, and being habited in the costume of his country, attracted great attention.

1814.—Being in a state of war with Great Britain, and the harbor and town constantly exposed to the attacks of British ships and barges, application was made to the towns of Kingston and Duxbury to unite in measures of defence for the harbor, which was complied with. A committee of vigilance and safety was appointed, and a night watch to patrol the streets. In June, a committee was appointed to make application to the governor and council, for a supply of the munitions of war adequate to the defence of the town, and such other aid as may be deemed proper; the request was promptly complied with, the necessary munitions were supplied, and a regiment of militia, under the command of Col. Caleb Howard, was ordered to

take their station here for our defence, which gave the place the aspect of a garrison town, for several months.

1815.—April 22d, died in this town the Hon. William Watson, Esq. He was born May 6th, 1730, and graduated at Harvard college, 1751. This gentleman ranked himself among the respectable whigs and patriots of our revolution, and was ever a zealous advocate for the rights and liberties of his country. As a professor of religion he was exemplary, giving punctual attendance to its ordinances and duties. His moral virtue and integrity were unquestionable, and entitled him to the confidence of those authorities by whom he was appointed to public offices. In 1775, he was appointed the first postmaster ever in this town, by our provincial congress; and on the 28th September, 1782, he was by the general court appointed to the office of naval officer for the port of Plymouth. In 1789, he received a commission, under the hand of Washington, as collector of the port of Plymouth, which office he sustained till 1803, when he was removed by the succeeding President. In 1790, he was appointed, under the authority of the United States, Deputy Postmaster, to officiate as postmaster at Plymouth. This last commission was signed by Timothy Pickering. Mr. Watson's children now living, are, Elizabeth, who is the widow of Hon. Nathaniel Niles, and Ellen, the wife of Hon. John Davis.

1816.—The town voted to employ Dr. Sylvanus Fancher to inoculate the inhabitants with the kine pox, at the expence of the town, which was done, and 2,800, chiefly of the young inhabitants, were vaccinated.

May 17. A committee, chosen by the town, to make inquiry into the conduct of retailers of spirituous liquors, reported 'that they are deeply impressed with the magnitude of the evil, and with the serious consequences that will probably result to the rising generation, if some seasonable check cannot be put to the practice. Aware of the odium that attaches itself to those, who, from official duty, are led to oppose the views and emoluments of interested individuals, we would not leave to the fathers of the town to encounter the hydra alone; we would, therefore, recommend to every honest, discreet, and sober-minded inhabitant of the town, to set his face against the practice, as he would regard the interest, prosperity, and comfort of his fellow creatures, and would preserve the rising generation from moral pollution and degeneracy, and that they would unite their efforts with those of the selectmen and civil officers of the town, to discountenance and suppress this alarming, this crying sin. They would, also, recommend, that the selectmen, overlooking all past transgressions in this respect, be enjoined, peremptorily

and perseveringly, to withhold their approbation from any person, whom they shall hereafter know, or very strongly suspect, to be guilty of a violation of the law.

'Your committee hope they shall be excused, if they exceed the bounds of their commission, when they express their firm conviction, that a systematic perseverance in discharging the painful duty of putting under guardianship such citizens as are notoriously intemperate, will be one remedy, among others, of the evil in question.' The report was accepted.

1817.—*December 22.* The 187th anniversary of the memorable event of the landing of the forefathers, was celebrated in the usual style. The discourse on this occasion was delivered by the Rev. Horace Holley, of Boston, whose well-known oratorical powers were exerted in the happiest manner, and afforded great delight and satisfaction to his numerous auditors.

Mr. Holley contemplated the scenery about our harbor, our burial hill, and the rock, and held a conversation with Deacon Spooner in the morning, which roused the best energies of his nature, and nerved his faculties to their noblest display. In his discourse he observed that he had that morning received some new recollections, and made the following allusion in reference to the venerable Spooner: 'Our venerable friend knew and conversed with Elder Faunce, who personally knew the first settlers, so Polycarp conversed with St. John, the beloved disciple of our Saviour.'

On this interesting occasion, Deacon Spooner officiated by reading the Psalm, in the ancient form, line by line, and this closed the religious services of this venerable man, who, for so many years, had been constantly seen in his appropriate seat in the sanctuary of his God. He died on the sabbath, March 22, 1818, in the 83d year of his age. Rev. Mr. Kendall preached an occasional sermon on the following sabbath, taking for his text, 'The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness.' The following biographical sketch of Deacon Spooner was written by an intimate and venerable companion and friend of the deceased.*

'Died at Plymouth, on Lord's day morning, the Hon. Ephraim Spooner, in the 83d year of his age.

'It would not merely be injustice to the deceased, but injury to the living, to suffer the life of a man distinguished by such pre-eminent usefulness and active benevolence, as was that of Deacon Spooner, to pass unnoticed.

'Deacon Spooner, by his native, beneficent disposition, suavi-

* Hon. Joshua Thomas.

ty of manners, and constant readiness to oblige, early recommended himself to general notice. In the intercourse of social life, the expressions of his civility and kindness were uncommonly ardent, and to strangers might appear to be somewhat overstrained; but they who intimately knew him, can vouch with great confidence that he never made a tender of service in which he was not sincere, nor dispensed a favor that did not flow spontaneously from the heart; and it may be safely added, that he never intentionally did a wrong thing, nor thought a mean one. His fellow-townsmen, impressed with his worth and assiduity, introduced him into the various respectable offices of the town, and his election as town-clerk for fifty-two years in succession, and which he retained until his death, amidst the struggles and conflicts of party, satisfactorily evinced the upright and faithful manner with which he discharged the respective offices he sustained.

‘In opposition to the iniquitous system of policy adopted by Great Britain to enlhral her colonies, his whole soul was engaged. As his industry was continual, nothing in his power was left unessayed to promote, in his language, “*the glorious cause*,” and the writer of this article could mention instances of sacrifices he offered at the shrine of his country, and of wonderful exertions he made to procure subsistence for the indigent during the distressing period of the war of the revolution, that would excite the admiration of all men acquainted with the common principles of human actions. But his patriotism, though in a high degree zealous, had not the least tincture of bitterness, and in the distribution of his charities, party feeling had no participation,—a pure philanthropy seemed to have marked him for her own.

‘Universal good-will being so conspicuous a feature in the character of Deacon Spooner, it is unnecessary to state the warmth of his affection in the relation of husband and parent, or the ardor of his attachment as a friend.

‘In the year 1790, he was appointed by the Executive, an associate justice of what is called the old court of common pleas, and held this office till that court was abolished. Being educated a merchant, his friends cannot claim for him great information in legal science; but a quick, natural discernment, and inflexible rectitude of intention, generally guided him to correct decisions. If any mistaken bias was ever discovered in his opinions, it was insensibly produced by his strong sympathies with the unfortunate. He represented the town of Plymouth in the legislature several years with his usual activity and perseverance, and finished his political career as a member of the Executive Council.

'But the highest point in the character of Deacon Spooner is yet to be named. He was, from full conviction, a christian, and for more than fifty years made public profession of his religion, and for thirty-four years, officiated, *without blemish*, in the office of deacon at the altar of the First Church of Christ in Plymouth, and the first in New England. Imbibing the heavenly temper of his master, like him he went about doing good, whenever opportunity presented, without cold calculations on the measure of his ability; 'and in the meekness of his opposition and mildness of censure,' resembled the beloved disciple. His piety was without bigotry, and his devotion without enthusiasm. No abstruse polemic divinity, no metaphysical disquisitions on the nature of faith, perplexed the simplicity of his creed, and alienated him from his fellow christians; piety to God and benevolence to man being with him the sole test of orthodoxy and discipleship.

'Only about four weeks before his own death, Deacon Spooner buried his wife, with whom he had lived fifty-five years, in the most entire harmony, walking cheerfully together in the christian course, and in the ordinances of the gospel; and the pious fortitude and calm resignation he exhibited on that occasion, will not admit of doubt that they are again united in shouting the divine praises.

'Accept, venerable departed shade, this small tribute of respect to the memory of thy friendship, greatly beloved in life, deeply lamented in death.'

A peculiar courtesy and politeness of manners, and good feeling, were inherent in the nature of our deceased friend. Numerous amusing anecdotes, characteristic of the man, might be adduced, but they must be omitted.

Mr. Spooner was a genuine philanthropist, and no man was more ready to interpose the kind office of friendship towards a neighbor. So ardent was his patriotism, and such his influence, that on more than one occasion when the town was driven to great extremity for money for the purpose of raising soldiers for the army, and procuring supplies for them and for their families, he had the address to obtain a loan of a wealthy gentleman who was a royalist. Deacon Spooner married Elizabeth Shurtleff, and their surviving children are Sally, James, and Ebenezer.

March 8th.—Died in this town Nathaniel Goodwin, Esq., aged seventy years. He was the son of a respectable merchant, and was educated to that profession under parental care in early life. He established himself by a commendable course of industry and perseverance. He was found among the ac-

tive patriots of our revolution, and entered the public service in the office of major of militia, and was attached to Col. Gerish's regiment, stationed at Boston and Cambridge, to guard the conventional troops taken under Burgoyne at Saratoga. He was also in the expedition to Rhode Island, in the capacity of major, in 1778. Subsequently, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier, and that of major-general of militia, which office he sustained with honor until his death. He was for many years a representative to our legislature, and an acting magistrate, and displayed the qualities of an impartial judge. In all his avocations he was found capable and assiduous as a useful citizen, and was held in respect for his probity, integrity, and other moral virtues. General Goodwin left sons and daughters; the oldest son, Nathaniel, is the present cashier of the Plymouth bank. Ezra Shaw, the youngest son, was educated in the ministry, and was the learned and respected pastor of the first church and society at Sandwich. He died greatly lamented February 5th, 1833, and his grateful people erected a marble monument to his memory with the following inscription:

In Memory
of
REV. EZRA SHAW
GOODWIN,
Pastor
of the
First
Congregational Church
and Society
in Sandwich,
who died
Feb. 5th, A. D. 1833,
in the 46th year
of his age,
and in the
twentieth year
of his ministry.

This memorial
of their
beloved Pastor,
is here placed
by the bereaved flock,
with grateful
recollections
of the services,
virtues and endowments
of their pious instructor,
their enlightened guide,
their faithful counsellor,
their constant work-fellow
in the cause of
Christian liberty,
their cherished associate,
their generous
and affectionate
friend.

Absent in the flesh, yet
with us in the spirit.

1820.—As the present year closes the second century since the pilgrim fathers first landed on our shores, a respectable number of the inhabitants of this town, impelled by a sense of duty and pious gratitude to divine Providence, have instituted

a society, which was by our legislature incorporated February 24th, by the name of *Pilgrim Society*. The design of this association is to commemorate this great historical event, and to perpetuate the character and virtues of our ancestors to posterity. In accordance with these views they proceeded to erect a durable monumental edifice in this town, for the accommodation of the meetings of said society, and as a memorial sacred to the memory of the founders of our nation.

Centennial Celebration of the Landing of the Pilgrims, December 22d.—The period now recurs when we commemorate, with peculiar solemnity, the momentous event which gave birth and existence to our nation, with all which is valuable in the civil, literary and religious establishments in New England. This day completes the second century since our shores were first impressed by the footsteps of civilized men. The Pilgrim Society, desirous of giving to the solemnities appropriate dignity and permanent effect, selected a gentleman of the first talents, Hon. Daniel Webster, as their orator. After a well-adapted prayer by the Rev. Dr. Kirkland, president of Harvard University, the speaker entertained the audience for about two hours. This address was all that could be anticipated or conceived. It was correct in its historical statements, powerful in argument, rich in description, and pathetic and eloquent in action. The characters and principles, the sufferings and virtues of the pilgrim puritans were portrayed with great justice and felicity. The useful and glorious efforts of their wisdom and enterprise, and independent love of truth, were fully displayed to the judgment and feelings of an intelligent and delighted audience. But we are sensible of the difficulty of doing justice to this appropriate and splendid performance, and must refer to the discourse itself for a just sense of its pre-eminent merits. The concourse of people was immense, far more numerous than on any former occasion; and a great portion of them from our most distinguished and respectable citizens. A procession was formed at 11 o'clock, soon after the business of the Pilgrim Society was transacted, and escorted by the *Standish Guards*, a neat independent company, lately organized, and commanded by Capt. Coomer Weston, moved through the main street of the town to the meeting-house, and, after the services of the sanctuary, were attended by the same corps to the new court-house, where they sat down to an elegant, though simple repast, provided in a style very proper for the occasion, where the company was served with the treasures both of the land and the sea. Among other affecting memorials, calling to mind the distresses of the pil-

grims, were five kernels of parched corn placed on each plate, alluding to the time in 1623, when that was the proportion allowed to each individual on account of the scarcity. John Watson, Esq., respectable by his years, and dignified by his gentlemanly manners, and the only surviving member of the Old Colony Club, presided during the hours of dinner. The Hon. Joshua Thomas, president of the Pilgrim Society, to the great regret of the gentlemen present, was prevented from attending, by severe illness. Mr. Watson was assisted by Hon. William Davis, of Plymouth, and Alden Bradford, Esq., of Boston, and the following gentlemen, by request of the president, acted as vice-presidents, viz., Hon. T. Bigelow, Hon. L. Lincoln, William Jackson, Esq., Judah Alden, Esq., William R. Rotch, Esq., and F. C. Gray, Esq. Good humor and good feelings were displayed in every countenance, and expressed by a constant interchange of friendly greetings and ardent congratulations; and such was the decorum and propriety of deportment through the day, that even the stern pilgrims might have looked down without rebuke. After the regular toasts were announced, Mr. Bradford rose and observed to the members of the Pilgrim Society (and the company) that he had been requested by their president, Judge Thomas, to express his great regret in not being able to join them in the solemnities of the day; to assure them that he had anticipated the joyous celebration with peculiar interest and pleasure, and that while life was continued to him, it would be his ardent wish to promote the objects of the association, in cherishing a grateful remembrance of the virtues of the pilgrims, and in giving his support to their principles and institutions. The following, communicated by Judge Thomas, was then given and received with great approbation; and the cry of 'encore, encore,' was repeated from every part of the hall. 'Our Forefathers' Creed; Law, Liberty, and Religion; If their descendants would preserve the *two first*, let them not expunge the third article.'*

Hon. Judge Davis then proposed a toast for the health of Judge Thomas, whose cheering society and acceptable superintendence we had been accustomed to enjoy on these anniversaries.

After the first toast was drank, the Hon. Judge Davis, President of the Historical Society, who, with several of the members, had been appointed a committee to congratulate the Pil-

* Judge Thomas's toast alluded to the third article in our Bill of Rights; the question of expunging it was then under consideration in the state convention.

grim Society on this interesting occasion, addressed them as follows:—

‘Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Pilgrim Society.—The celebration of this memorable day, which excites such just and general notice, could not fail to engage the attention of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Their pursuits are in unison with the objects of your association, and they cheerfully accept your invitation to this interesting festival. In behalf of that society, and as chairman of their committee, appointed for this purpose, it is my grateful office to present to you their congratulations, and to express their cordial sympathy in the sentiments of veneration which you so eminently cherish for the founders of our race.

‘With this manifestation of our fraternal regard, permit me, in their behalf, to request your acceptance of an entire copy of their collections. By these publications, many precious memorials of our ancestors have been rescued from oblivion, and we would wish them to find a place in the library of your institution.

‘The annual celebrations of the landing of the fathers on this memorable ground, have been uniformly regarded with complacency. Statesmen, sages, and scholars, the busy and the contemplative, the aged and the young, all delight to participate in the pious recollections with which you are animated.

‘The toils and perils of suffering virtue—the objects and aims, the struggles and the rewards of the pilgrims, furnish a most instructive lesson, and are reviewed with tender emotions. In them the painter finds a subject for the happiest effort of his pencil—poetry offers her garland, and the sons of genius are emulous of your appointment to the principal performance of the day. This is no common holiday. On the present occasion, the completion of the second century since the landing of our fathers, the impressions habitually connected with your celebrations assume a deeper interest. Visitors from every direction repair to your respected residence, and many of the fair daughters of the land, regardless of the severity of the season, express a kindred spirit with the wives and daughters of the pilgrims, and unite in your reverential homage. Scenes, which are to you familiar, attract the attention of your guests. They gaze on the wintry wave which dashes on your shore, for there they seem to spy the approaching shallows; and on that shore they trace, in imagination, the footsteps of the unsheltered wanderers. They survey the streams, and drink at the springs which invited the weary exiles here to commence their settlement. They ascend the height, where yet are seen the outlines of the first footsteps of the Pilgrims, and their first place

of worship. There rest the remains of the departed worthies. No monument to their memory appears in the hallowed ground; but every heart erects a monument, while it dwells with holy musings on the life and death of the righteous, on the sure resurrection of the just.

'It is a happy privilege to live to witness this day, and to unite with kindred minds in its services. To the Pilgrim Society is committed the dignified trust of perpetuating these filial observances. Under such auspices, we are assured that these annual solemnities will ever preserve their just and appropriate character. Most cordially, gentlemen, do we wish prosperity and honor to your institution.

'The purposes of its establishment are generous and elevated. They touch the heart, and open to the intellectual view the most impressive considerations; for truth, freedom, patriotism, social order, religion, all the lofty aims and characteristics of humanity, are associated with the objects of your society, and with the incidents which we are assembled to commemorate. Your recollections will attest that this is no exaggeration, and what we have this day heard affords abundant confirmation of the rich variety which the 'short and simple annals of the poor' can furnish for the exercise of intellectual energy and discriminating observation. We have witnessed the affecting and sublime reflection presented to a devout and benevolent mind, from the brief history of our ancestors; and the auspicious consequences, springing from the most humble beginnings, are consoling to every friend of man, and encouraging to the cause of truth and virtue.

'The 'stricken deer that left the herd' were not destined to perish; *the wilderness and the solitary place are glad for them, and the desert blossoms as the rose.*'

The Rev. Dr. Kendall, one of the trustees of the Pilgrim Society, by their request, and in their behalf, replied with great feeling and propriety. He spoke of the great respectability and utility of the Historical Society, by the instrumentality of which, so much that was important and interesting in the early history of the country, and particularly of the adventures and principles of the pilgrim fathers, was collected and preserved. In referring to the virtues and sufferings, the faith and piety of our fathers, he paid a just tribute to their precious memories; and expressed a hope, that these celebrations, devoted to the recollection of their services in the cause of religion and the rights of conscience, would have the happy effect of strengthening our love of pure and unadulterated christianity, and increasing our attachment to the correct principles, the moral habits,

and social virtues, the civil and religious institutions of the puritan founders of New England, to whose zeal and firmness and perseverance we owe so much.

The Hon. Mr. Lincoln, one of the vice-presidents, of the American Antiquarian Society, also offered congratulations to the members of the Pilgrim Society, and made the following address:

‘MR. PRESIDENT,—The American Antiquarian Society, by their attending officers and members, beg to be indulged the pleasure of publicly proffering the most cordial congratulations to the Pilgrim Society, upon their organization, and upon the auspicious circumstances under which they are convened on this highly interesting occasion. The spot endeared by all the associated recollections of the first landing of our forefathers, is best consecrated to their fame, by the joyous commemoration of their valor and virtues, and a grateful recognition of the privations they patiently endured, and of the work they gloriously accomplished. Two centuries have now passed since in the rigor of an inclement season, in the desolation of a wilderness, amidst savages and beasts of prey, the tread of *Christians* impressed these shores with the first footsteps of *civilization*. The hazard in corporeal existence which they incurred, the struggle for self-preservation which they maintained, their undaunted energy in danger, their unbending integrity in temptation, their pious resignation in suffering, their fear and worship of God, and their regard for and love of each other, are themes, which on every occasion of remembrance, swell with enthusiastic admiration the hearts of their descendants. Forever cherished be these recollections! Forever honored be the names and characters of the pilgrims! On every recurring anniversary of their landing may this first scene of their trials and their sufferings, their conflicts and their endurance, be hallowed by the personal homage of those who are worthy to inherit the rich fruits of their triumph. May the Pilgrim Society eminently flourish, and with its success may public gratitude be excited towards all those enlightened, munificent and patriotic men whose merits and exertions the occasion has hitherto been had in honor, and who are now associated to make the record of that occasion permanent.’

By the request of the president, Mr. Secretary Bradford, a trustee of the Pilgrim Society addressed the officers and members of the Antiquarian Society, who were present, as a delegation specially appointed, and observed that the honorable notice taken of the Pilgrim Society, and the approbation expressed as to its views and objects, were highly gratifying to the

members of the association; that the generous congratulations, tendered on the occasion, were cordially reciprocated; that the best wishes of the friends of our forefathers attended the American Antiquarian Society for success in their honorable purposes and expressed a hope that the result of their several associations would be a more extensive and efficient sentiment in favor of the civil and religious institutions of our beloved country.

Mr. B's reply was made without opportunity for preparation. The above-mentioned societies had been invited by the Pilgrim Society to attend the celebration.

A splendid ball in the evening closed the festivities of this memorable day. The company was numerous beyond any ever recollected to have been convened in that place.

The hall was decorated with great taste, and the costume of the ladies was at once beautiful and uniform, as if there had been an understanding to avoid mere show and expense, and to study appropriate simplicity united with real elegance; and it was indeed a pleasant scene, where we might look around on a company of six hundred of different ages, among whom innocent mirth, and social feelings were so eminently prevalent. And it is highly satisfactory to reflect that the amusements, such as these, where excess is avoided and the more sober spirit sheds an influence to restrain all improper levity, are not incompatible with a love of genuine virtue and respect for the stern characters of our pious and venerated ancestors.

The inhabitants of this most ancient town in New England were highly gratified by the collection of respectable citizens from all parts of the state; and those who made this pleasant pilgrimage to the rock of our fathers were equally gratified by the attention, civility and hospitality shown them by the families residing on this consecrated spot. The object of the Pilgrim Society was highly approved, and many new members were added on the 22d inst.

Mr. Webster's Oration soon passed through three editions, and the generous spirited author would not appropriate any part of the profits of the copy right to himself, but presented it as a donation to the Pilgrim Society, by which one hundred dollars were added to its funds.

1821.—*January 10.* Expired in this town, the Hon. Joshua Thomas. He was born in 1751, and was descended from one of the most respectable families in the colony, his ancestor being *William Thomas, of Marshfield*, who was a particular friend of governor Winslow, and settled near him.

Judge Thomas was the son of Dr. William Thomas, an em-

inent physician in this town, who lived to an advanced age. The following sketch of our distinguished townsman is taken from the Collections of the Historical Society, vol. x. 2d series.

‘Mr. Thomas received his education at Harvard University, and was considered one of the first scholars in the large class of which he was a member. He was particularly distinguished for a flowing and elegant style of writing, and in subsequent periods of his life he gave repeated evidence of this happy talent. He was graduated in July, 1772. After passing a few months in teaching youth, (an employment in which, formerly, some of the best scholars in the state engaged for a short period, on leaving the university,) he gave his attention to theological studies, with a view to the clerical profession. But he was never employed in its public services. The political controversy with Great Britain, which was now becoming highly interesting and approaching to a crisis, seems to have engaged his chief attention, as it did that of other patriots of that eventful period. He was adjutant of a regiment of newly organized militia, raised in Plymouth county in the autumn of 1774; and, at their request he delivered a public address on the political state of the country, which was received with great approbation and applause.

‘In April, 1775, soon after the battle of Lexington, Col. John Thomas, of Kingston, who had been an officer in 1758, raised a regiment, and marched, with others, to Roxbury. Here he acted for some months, as commander of the several regiments encamped at that place, with the rank of General, while Gen. Ward was commander in chief of the Massachusetts troops, until the arrival of General Washington, in July following, who had received a commission to command the American forces of all the colonies. Mr. Thomas was aid to General Thomas at this period, and for this campaign; and his intelligence and activity rendered him highly useful to the General, and the division under his command.

‘In the same capacity he accompanied General Thomas, in the spring of 1776, to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, who was entrusted with the chief command of the American troops in that quarter. After a few months service on that expedition, General Thomas died, and the command devolved on General Schuyler, of New York. Major Thomas then left the army and returned to his native town where he engaged in the study of the law, and was occasionally employed by government in various agencies for the public service; but did not again go into the field.

‘In the year 1781, he was elected a representative from Ply-

mouth, and after serving the town in this capacity for several years, he was chosen one of the senators for that county, and, in 1792, was appointed judge of probate on the decease of the Hon. Joseph Cushing. This office he sustained until his death, a period of twenty-nine years; and its various duties were discharged with a correctness and integrity, with an impartiality and patience never exceeded, perhaps by any one, and which secured to him the esteem and respect of the whole county. There was much amenity in his manners, and such a spirit of accommodation in the discharge of his official duties, as well as in the private circle, that all who associated with him, either for public business or social converse, were pleased and delighted. His memory was uncommonly retentive, and he was full of anecdotes calculated to illustrate the opinions and manners of men of former days, particularly of the patriots and statesmen of 1775. He was fond of perusing the works of ethical and theological writers. His reading was very extensive on these subjects. He was well acquainted with the various systems of theology in the christian world; but gave his decided preference to that, which is now denominated unitarian and liberal. He went to the fountain of inspiration for his religious sentiments; he admitted no other authority as decisive but the bible; and this, he believed, every one was bound to examine and interpret for himself; yet he approved, generally, of the writings of *Price*, and *Watson*, of *Mayhew*, *Chauncy*, and others of their catholic views. In his political character he ranked among the ardent friends of rational freedom, and was a true disciple of the Washington school. Though an enemy to arbitrary rulers, who forgot right and attempted to exercise illegal and unconstitutional power, he was a firm supporter of all legitimate authority, and a ready advocate of law and order. In the various critical periods of the commonwealth, during his active life, he united his efforts, with other good men, in vindicating correct constitutional principles, in opposition to popular excitements and party feelings.

His qualities, as a parent, neighbor and friend, were peculiarly happy and commendable. He was indulgent, mild, generous, disinterested. As a lawyer, also, he shared largely in the esteem and confidence of the people. He was too honorable to impose on the ignorant, or to exact even the usual fees for professional business of the poorer classes. He was many years president of the bar in Plymouth county; and the following vote, passed, unanimously, at the first court holden in that county, after his decease, fully shows the high estimation, which his brethren of the profession had of his talents

and character. "The bar, taking into consideration the afflicting dispensation of Providence, in removing by death, their highly respectable president, the Hon. Joshua Thomas, distinguished by his literary and legal acquirements, his moral and social virtues, and with a deep sense of the loss which the community in general have sustained by this melancholy event, do resolve, that they will, in token of their respect for his memory, wear *crape* from this time to the end of the next term of the supreme judicial court for this county."

'The honorable notice taken of our friend by Judge Putnam, at a session of the supreme judicial court in Plymouth, in May, 1821, at the first term thereof in the new court house, is worthy of preservation. "Alas! that our joy, on this interesting occasion, should be mixed with grief for the loss of that excellent and venerable man, who presided in your courts, and was so long the widow's friend, and father of the fatherless. This temple of justice is but one of the durable proofs of his influence, and of the never-failing confidence, which your people had in his integrity and judgment. His respected name will descend with distinguished honor to posterity; but the benignity of his countenance and manners can be properly estimated only by those, who had the happiness to know him. If he were here to-day, he would rejoice with you, because he would have believed that this well-timed liberality will be productive of lasting honor and benefit to the country, as well as to the state. He was fully impressed with that veneration for the laws and for the magistracy, which will ever be associated with these walls."

'When a Bible Society was formed in the counties of Plymouth and Norfolk, in 1814, he was chosen president, and so continued to the time of his death. He was also president of the Pilgrim Society, and his death is deeply lamented by all its members. The regrets of the Historical Society are mingled with those of others, with whom he was associated for useful and patriotic purposes; and they improve the earliest opportunity to record this sketch of his character and services from a respectful regard for his memory, and as an incitement to others to honorable exertion for the good of the public and of posterity.'

Judge Thomas married Isabella Stevenson; and their descendants were John Boies, William, and Joshua Barker.

The town purchased of the court of sessions of the county, the old court house, for the sum of \$2,000, to be appropriated as a Town House.

April.—The town voted that the court of sessions of the

county may make any walks or improvement on the town's land in front of the new court house, or in any way ornament the same with trees or posts, &c., leaving a sufficient road open on each side; but no building whatever to be erected on the land.

May 29.—The town voted to instruct their representative in general court to use every reasonable effort for better regulating and diminishing the sale and use of spirituous liquors, and for preventing pauperism.

Voted, also, that the selectmen be requested to address the selectmen of the several towns in the county, furnishing them with a copy of the above vote, and request their co-operation therewith; either on their own responsibility, or by laying the subject before their several towns respectively.

1822.—The town voted to petition the legislature to pass a law prohibiting fires in the woods by coal-pits in Plymouth, Sandwich, Carver, Wareham and Kingston.

Mr. Ichabod Shaw died this year, aged eighty-seven. He was descended from John Shaw, of an ancient and respectable family, who was among our first settlers, and located himself in Middleborough. He was an ingenious and industrious artist, possessing a sagacious mind, and was held in regard for his friendly and social qualities. He was strongly attached to the names of the pilgrim fathers, and was himself an exemplifier of their simple manners and virtues. He married a daughter of deacon John Atwood of this town, and was the parent of five sons and seven daughters.

1823.—*December 22.* This day brings us to the 203d year since the landing of the pilgrims in this place. The semi-annual meeting of the Pilgrim Society was held, agreeably to the provision of their constitution. The interesting associations and pleasing recollections of the occasion were awakened and indulged, but the appropriate public performances were dispensed with.

1824.—*January 26.* At a meeting of the inhabitants of the town, it was voted to petition congress for aid in repairing the beach. The petition expresses grateful acknowledgements for the appropriations heretofore made, for surveying and securing the harbor of Plymouth; after which it proceeds to represent, 'that since the landing of our ancestors in 1620, this beach has been gradually wasting. From the year 1784 to the present time, repairs have been necessary for its preservation; and since the year 1806, the sum of \$40,000 has been expended in repairing it. This sum has been raised by grants from this state, by contributions of individuals, and by taxes assessed on

your memorialists. The repairs thus made, have hitherto warranted the belief, that with our means, though small, we should be able to preserve it without further aid from the public; such, however, has been the destruction, by the late violent storms, of the northern extremity of the beach, heretofore considered the most permanent, as well as the most important, and where repairs have not been considered requisite, that your memorialists are satisfied it is wholly beyond their means to make the repairs necessary to preserve it.

‘Your memorialists forbear to describe the distress that the destruction of this beach will bring upon the inhabitants of the ports of Plymouth and Kingston, in the loss of their property and employments; nor would they particularly remind you of the hopeless situation in which our numerous class of fishermen would thereby be placed, who, from their youth, have had no other employment than in the fisheries; but they would most respectfully place the merits of their appeal on the importance of this harbor to the commerce, navigation and revenue of the country.

‘There are now, belonging to the ports of Plymouth and Kingston, two ships, fourteen brigs, sixty-five schooners, and fifteen sloops, measuring 8,228 tons, which vessels are employed partly in foreign trade, partly in the coasting trade, and partly in the whale, cod, and mackerel fisheries.

‘The amount of duties secured on imports in the district of Plymouth within the last three years, is \$65,574 67, four-fifths of which amount were secured on importations at this port. This harbor is often frequented by vessels, when by adverse winds they are driven from their ports of destination north of this district; and, during the inclement seasons of the year, vessels are often saved from shipwreck by entering it. It is also of great national importance in time of war. It is the only harbor, south of Boston, in the Massachusetts Bay, embracing a sea coast of more than one hundred and fifty miles, in which vessels can *then* anchor in safety from the enemy. During the wars in which this country has been engaged, a large amount of property has been saved to individuals, and of revenue to the government, which, without this safe retreat, would have been lost. During the last war, many vessels were thus saved. The duties arising on the cargoes of two vessels amounted to \$154,836 21, which, without this harbor, would have inevitably fallen into the hands of the enemy. From March, 1813, to May, 1814, was perhaps the most gloomy period of the war. The ships of the enemy were almost constantly cruising in the Massachusetts Bay. Yet, during this

short and perilous period, the duties secured at this port on the cargoes of vessels, that escaped the ships of the enemy and found safety in this harbor, amounted to the sum of \$20,318 32. By the public surveys it also appears, that ships of the line can anchor with safety in this harbor, which may be considered as increasing the interest the public have in its preservation.

'Your memorialists, having thus briefly stated the importance of this harbor to themselves and the public, and their inability to make the repairs on the beach which are necessary to its preservation, do pray your honorable body to take the subject into consideration, and to grant them such aid in repairing it, as to your wisdom may appear proper.' Subsequent to this memorial, Congress made grants amounting to \$43,566, for the repairs. See under head *Beach*.

Monumental Edifice. September 1.—The funds of the Pilgrim Society being thought sufficient to warrant the trustees in commencing the building of a monumental edifice, the corner-stone was this day laid, with appropriate solemnities. This edifice is to be seventy by forty feet, with walls of unwrought, split granite; the height from the top of the foundation to the eave cornice, being about thirty-three feet, forms two stories. The lower room is to be about ten feet in the clear of the ceiling; and the upper to the impost moulding about twenty feet, to which being added the curve of the ceiling, is about twenty-three feet. The present contract extends no farther than to enclose the main building. It is intended, as soon as the state of the funds will justify, to form the front by an addition of about twenty feet, with a double tier of steps, having entrance to the upper room, and by descent to the lower. The front will be finished with a Doric portico on four columns, of about twenty feet in height, the base of which will be from three to four feet above the level of the street. The situation presents a full view of the outer harbor.

The Pilgrim Society, under the escort of the Standish Guards, proceeded to the meeting-house, where intercession was made by the Rev. Mr. Kendall, select passages of scripture were read by Rev. Mr. Willis, of Kingston, and an address on the character and virtues of our fathers was delivered by Alden Bradford, Esq., reaching the hearts of his hearers as it came warm from his own. The solemnities of the church were closed by singing a hymn in the tune of *Old Hundred*, after the ancient manner, line by line. The society, under the same escort, and preceded by the children of the several schools, then proceeded to the site of the proposed building, laid the corner-stone, when the venerable President, John Watson,

Esq., described some of the highly valued privileges of our descent. He expressed his gratitude that his life had been spared to witness these solemnities; and, after the filial zeal of the present generation shall be attested, in the completion of this monument 'to perpetuate the virtues of the pilgrims,' he would say, like the patriarch of old, *Now let thy servant depart in peace.* The Rev. Dr. Allyne expressed our sense of dependence on the Almighty architect for the success of this, and all our labors, and supplicated a divine blessing. Thus in good earnest have we laid the foundation of 'a monument to perpetuate the memory of the virtues, the enterprise, and unparalleled sufferings of the men who first settled in this ancient town,' where for ages their descendants may repair and trace their feeble beginnings, and contemplate the astonishing results, that a beneficent Deity has annexed to the resolute, unwearied, conscientious performance of the duties of piety and benevolence.

The following articles were deposited in an excavation made in the stone for that purpose.

Deposits.—Sermon delivered at Plymouth by Robert Cushman, December 12th, 1621.

First Newspaper printed in the Old Colony, by Nathaniel Coverly, at Plymouth, in 1786.

Coins of the United States, and of Massachusetts.

Odes composed for the Anniversary.

Constitution of the Pilgrim Society, and the names of its Members.

Daniel Webster's Century Oration for 1820.

Massachusetts Register.

Old Colony Memorial began in May, 1822, by Allen Danforth.

Columbian Centinel, by Benjamin Russell, containing an account of the entry of General Lafayette into the city of Boston.

Plate.—'In grateful memory of our ancestors who exiled themselves from their native country, for the sake of religion, and here successfully laid the foundation of *Freedom* and *Empire*, December xxii. A. D. MDCXX. their descendants, the Pilgrim Society, have raised this edifice, August xxxi. A. D. MDCCCXXIV.

A. PARRIS, ARCHITECT.

J. & A. S. TAYLOR, BUILDERS.

H. MORSE, Sc.'

In the summer of the present year, a general joy was diffused through the United States by the arrival on our shores

of that illustrious friend of our country General Lafayette. All ranks of people and all public bodies vied in homage and respect to this great personage.

The morning after the arrival of General Lafayette in Boston, Dr. Thacher called on him, with the subjoined letter from the selectmen of Plymouth, in behalf of the citizens of the town.

'Plymouth, Mass. August 21st, 1824.'

GENERAL LAFAYETTE,

'Sir: the inhabitants of this town cordially unite with their fellow-citizens, in bidding you a sincere welcome to the United States. Living on the spot where their ancestors, the founders of the American republic, first landed and settled, the inhabitants cherish a deep interest for those who have aided the cause for which they emigrated to these shores; which cause you, with other distinguished friends of freedom, successfully supported through the perilous period of the revolutionary war.—The privations you suffered, and the perils and hardships you encountered during that interesting struggle, in leaving your home and country, and exposing your life to the dangers of the American camp for the freedom and independence of the States, justly entitle you to the lasting gratitude of the American people; and as long as they are worthy of the rich and invaluable blessing they now enjoy, they cannot fail of looking to you as their unwavering benefactor.

'Should it be convenient to you before leaving the United States, to visit this place, the inhabitants will be highly gratified in having the pleasure of waiting on you, and expressing to you personally, assurances of their gratitude and esteem. In behalf of the inhabitants and by order of the selectmen of Plymouth.

'Z. SAMPSON, Chairman.'

Answer.

'SIR: Nothing could afford me a greater satisfaction than to have the honor to pay my respects to the citizens of Plymouth; nor will I leave the shores of America before I have enjoyed this heartfelt gratification. But my present first visit to this part of the Union is shortened by previous engagements, and the obligation to go towards the seat of government at Washington city. I anticipate the time when it will be in my power, personally, to present the citizens of Plymouth with my grateful and affectionate acknowledgments for their kindness to me. Be pleased to accept the tribute of those sentiments, and to believe me, with much personal regard, your obedient servant,

'LAFAYETTE.'

Second letter from Gen. Lafayette to the Selectmen.

' Washington, February 5, 1825.

' Sir: On the point of beginning a long journey through the Southern and Western States, I anticipate the time of next summer, when I will return to the Northern and Eastern parts of the Union. Happy I will be if I can present the people of Plymouth with my respectful thanks, and pay a tribute of reverence to the first spot where persecuted patriots did seek an asylum which they now offer to all the citizens of European despotism and aristocracy. In the mean while I beg you, Sir, accept, and to offer to your fellow-citizens, the expressions of my deep regard and affectionate respect.

LAFAYETTE.

' Zab. Sampson, Esq.'

In town meeting.—'Whereas Gen. Lafayette has declared his intention of visiting this town the ensuing summer, it becomes peculiarly incumbent on its citizens, living as we do, in the very birth-place of liberty, to prepare due honors for the man, whose eventful life has been devoted to its cause, and whom ten millions of free Americans with one consent have delighted to honor, the illustrious guest of the nation.

Therefore, *voted*, to appoint a committee of ten, to prepare for his reception in a manner best calculated to show to him and the public our grateful sentiments on this joyous occasion.—Voted, that the selectmen be authorized to draw on the treasury for a sum sufficient to cancel the expenses thence accruing.' A committee of ten persons was accordingly appointed, and proper arrangements were made for his reception, but for want of time he was obliged to dispense with his visit. This disappointment was greatly regretted. Lafayette would have been received here with emotions of cordial affection and profound respect, as it cannot be doubted that he cherished an interest in the consecrated asylum of those apostles of civil and religious freedom, whom we glory to style our progenitors, and who were animated by those holy principles so congenial to his own heart. How gratifying the occasion, could we have seen this great man step on the Rock of our fathers; the sacred monument on which were imprinted the footsteps of the anxious pilgrims, panting for a sanctuary for the deposite of their heavenly trust, the Charter of Liberty! The work which commenced in 1620, nurtured by the smiles of a guardian Providence, was with his generous assistance consummated in 1781. The annals of our revolution and the few survivors of that memorable period, bear ample testimony to the ardor and devotion which he

displayed, and the noble deeds he achieved under the banners of Washington; and millions of freemen will ever cherish in their hearts the name of Lafayette.

December.—On the 22d instant was celebrated the birthday of New England, the 204th anniversary, by the Pilgrim Society. The day was welcomed in a manner suited to the greatness of the occasion, and the increasing interest which is displayed in our early history. It was particularly gratifying to the inhabitants, that so many distinguished characters were disposed to resort hither, with feelings of enthusiasm, to 'pay due honors to the urns of the pilgrim fathers of our race,' and to participate in the festivities which custom and propriety have sanctioned, as appropriate to this ever memorable anniversary. The immense crowd of visitors the preceding evening filled all our public houses, and the private mansions were thrown open, that all might be accommodated. The evening was pleasant, and lights were placed at the windows, which served to prevent accident, and had the effect of a general illumination.

At the early dawn, demonstrations of gratitude and joy commenced by the ringing of bells and discharge of cannon from the ancient 'Fort Hill,' and soon the streets were thronged with an assemblage of citizens and strangers, more numerous than usual on any former anniversary. There were some peculiarities in the celebration this year, by which public anticipation had been highly excited. The Pilgrim Hall, recently erected to the memory of our fathers, the beautiful paintings of Col. Sargent, which adorned its wall, and the splendid reputation of the orator, Professor Everett, combined to awaken a lively interest in all classes of people. Hence, the town was honored by visitors from every part of New England, many from New York, and several ladies and gentlemen of distinction from foreign countries. At ten o'clock, the Pilgrim Society assembled at the Hall, where the noble images of our ancestors on the wall attracted universal attention. From the hall, a very respectable procession was escorted, by the Standish Guards, to the meeting house, where a very devotional prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Kendall. On no occasion, perhaps, have the pious effusions of the heart and humble petitions been uttered with greater eloquence or more powerful effect on an audience. Then followed a masterly discourse by Professor Everett, replete with instructive details of history, of pious patriotism and glowing effusions of praise towards our fathers, for the unexampled intrepidity and fortitude with which they encountered their peculiar difficulties. This noble performance, with which all were delighted, and

which added to the well earned fame of its author, has been published. The procession returned from the meeting house to the Hall, where an excellent dinner was provided, and enlivened with appropriate songs and toasts. The day closed with a splendid and fully attended ball. The admirable picture of the landing of the fathers, by Col. Sargent, was by its author placed in the Pilgrim Hall at this celebration, that the eye as well as the ear and intellect might be gratified on this interesting occasion. A writer in the newspaper says, 'We must do Mr. Sargent the justice to say, that he has not disgraced the noble story. No, the grandeur of the matchless undertaking has not suffered in his hands. The whole group and back ground of this picture, indicate deep thought, successful study, and equal skill in the execution. And who of us, descendants of the intrepid association, can look at the picture without emotion? It is a heart-moving representation of the patriarchs of our own blessed tribe, now spread and spreading throughout this vast land of promise. The story, as told by Mr. Sargent on the glowing canvass, is truly affecting, and the moral dignified. It is a striking picture of christian heroism, turning its back on regal and ecclesiastical folly and persecution. The picture has a special reference to the greatest civil event in the records of the human race, and the story is well told and well painted.'

1825.—*March.* The town voted to receive the new road at Eel river, passing by the cotton factory to the old Sandwich road, as a town road.

July.—The anniversary of the American Independence was celebrated in this town in a manner exceedingly gratifying to a large and respectable collection of citizens of this and other towns in the county. Salutes were fired from Watson's Hill, at sunrise, immediately after the services in the meeting-house, and at sunset. An oration was delivered by William Thomas, Esq.

William Goodwin, Esq. died July seventeenth, 1825, aged sixty-nine years. He was son of a respectable merchant in this town. It was his misfortune to labor under great bodily infirmities during many years, but his mind was active and intelligent. In the offices of assessor and selectman, he was ever found faithful, and was esteemed a man of public integrity and usefulness. He held the office of postmaster for several years, and was cashier of Plymouth Bank from its first establishment till his death. He married Lydia, the eldest daughter of Capt. Simeon Sampson, of this town, and they were parents of five sons and two daughters:—Simeon, who resides at Kentucky;

William, a respectable and intelligent merchant, died at Havana, December 15th, 1821, aged 38 years; Isaac, a learned lawyer and antiquarian, died at Worcester, 1832; Frederick died at New Orleans, 1833; Hersey Bradford, an ordained minister at Concord, Massachusetts; Mary Ann married Thomas Russell; Jane.

1826.—*January 5.* Died in this town Hon. William Davis. 'This gentleman has been long and extensively known and esteemed as a respectable merchant. To this line of life he was early devoted, and the few simple principles to which he adhered, industry, probity and perseverance, made his successful course an instructive example, and, united with many kindred virtues, rendered him a valued and endeared member of the community. He was cordially attached to his native town, and engaged with unwearied assiduity in the various municipal labors, to which he was called in early life, and which, for many successive years, were assigned to him. He occasionally represented the town in general court, and in the years 1812 and 1813, was a member of the executive council. Political distinction, however, was never an object of his pursuit, and to calls of this character he always yielded with reluctance. From the faithful and discreet discharge of his various duties, from the numerous employments which his activity and energy produced or promoted, from his animating influence to encourage exertion in others, and the habitual interest which he manifested in its successful issue, he was an important member of the circle in which he moved, and his death has left a void which may not be readily supplied, and has filled many hearts with sadness. His cheerful temper and social habits, and the facility with which his sympathies became accommodated to the situation and feelings of others, made his company and conversation always acceptable to persons of every age and condition.' Mr. Davis was president of Plymouth Bank. He was, for about thirty years, a member of our board of selectmen, and was a zealous advocate of the welfare and prosperity of the various civil and religious institutions of his native town. He was, at his death, vice-president of the Pilgrim Society, and ever manifested an ardent interest in its prosperity.

Mr. Davis married Rebecca Morton, who still survives, and their surviving children are Nathaniel Morton, Thomas, and Betsey, who is now the widow of Alexander Bliss, Esq. William, the oldest son, was cut off in the midst of his career of enterprise and usefulness, March, 1824, in the forty-first year of his age.

February 1.—Died, John Watson, Esq., aged seventy-eight.

He graduated at Harvard College in 1766, and was one of the founders of the Old Colony Club in 1769, and the last surviving member of that association of worthies. He was the first vice-president of the Pilgrim Society, and after the death of Judge Thomas, the president, was elected to fill that office, which he held till his death. Mr. Watson was the proprietor of Clark's Island, where he resided during about forty years of his life. To that spot he always felt a peculiar attachment, as affording antiquarian associations, in which he delighted to indulge, and to recount to his family and friends. He left many sons and daughters, of respectable standing in life.

July.—The fiftieth anniversary of our national independence was celebrated by the inhabitants of this town, in unison with a respectable assemblage of fellow citizens from other towns in the county. An oration was delivered by Charles H. Warren, Esq., of New Bedford.

November.—It having been discovered that considerable injury has been done to Plymouth beach by carrying off sand and sea-weed from the contiguous flats, and that, within a few years past, it has been the practice to take sand from said flats, for the purpose of manufacturing glass, the town petitioned the general court to pass a law prohibiting such trespasses in future.

1828.—Hon. Zabdiel Sampson, Esq. expired in this town July 19th. He was a native of Plympton, but resided in Plymouth during the several last years of his life. He was graduated at Brown University in 1803, and devoted himself to the study of the law, but was not long a pleader at the bar. In the year 1816, he was elected by this district a representative to Congress, and in 1820 was appointed collector of the customs for the port of Plymouth, which he retained till his death. He was, for several years, chairman of the board of selectmen, in this town, and in the several offices which he sustained, he was found diligent and faithful, and in moral virtue was exemplary.

October 9th.—Died, Nathaniel Lothrop, M. D., aged ninety-one. 'Dr. Lothrop was of the fifth generation from his respectable ancestor, John Lothrop. He graduated at Harvard University, at the head of the class of 1756; and, before his decease, was the only surviving graduate, except the venerable Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, of the long list of Alumni of his Alma Mater, included within the years 1740 and 1759. For a considerable time, he stood far in advance, in point of age, of any other person in this place. He survived all the companions and associates of his early days in his native town, outlived

the dearest of his domestic comforts, which had been his joy and delight, and was suffered to continue until even the desire of life in respect to himself had fled. A sacred regard to the dying request of the venerable deceased forbids us to enlarge; we will only add, while we cherish with respect and veneration the remembrance of his virtues, that like an ancient patriarch, he died in a good old age, an old man, and full of years, and was gathered to his fathers.' It should be gratefully noticed and remembered that Dr. Lothrop gave a legacy of \$500 to the Pilgrim Society, toward completing the edifice.

The 208th anniversary of the landing of the pilgrims was noticed by a private celebration on the 22d of December. A number of gentlemen of the town dined at the hotel, at which Major Joseph Thomas presided; and, besides 'the feast of shells,' the company enjoyed the anecdote, the song, and the toast, as reminiscences of olden times.

This anniversary was also celebrated by religious services in the meeting-house of the third parish, where the Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D., of Boston, delivered a sermon, which attracted much attention, as coming from 'a strong and vigorous mind, and abounding with practical and liberal remarks.'

1829.—*July 10th.* Died, suddenly, Samuel Davis, Esq., aged 64. Mr. Davis was truly an antiquarian; and few men within our social circle, possessed a greater fund of correct information relative to the character and circumstances of our primitive fathers. He was, says the writer of an obituary notice, 'the man to whom the inquisitive stranger was, by all of us, promptly referred. There was an accuracy and precision in the habit of his mind, that made all his minute and curious information perfectly to be relied on. He was what the world would call a man of leisure; but this leisure was no ignoble escape from thought; but was usually employed, under the direction of a cultivated taste, amid scenery and resources exactly adapted to its full gratification. He loved the characters of the pilgrims. He loved to trace out their original allotments, their first rude dwellings. He knew their sons and daughters, their intermarriages, their changes of abode, the living branches and the scions, that became new stocks in the most distant states.* Of all these things he made copious

* On one of the days of our anniversary, the Rev. Dr. Pierce having been for some time in conversation with Mr. Davis, a number of clergymen entered the room; the Dr. said, 'Gentlemen, this is Mr. Davis, who can tell us all where we came from.' Mr. D. promptly replied, 'Gentlemen, this is Dr. Pierce, who can tell us all *where we are going to.*'

memoranda. It is easy to infer the moral traits of an intellectual man, who, fond of history and biography, yet turned with disgust from the Cæsars, the Charleses, and Napoleons, and for thirty years persevered with delight in learning the minutest particulars of men like the pilgrims. The reader would be sure that he had, in the proper use of the word, simplicity of mind; that he was unostentatious, and meek, and pure, and a lover of good men of every age and clime. If he had peculiarities, they did not arise out of disordered affections, or from bitter ingredients in the composition of his mind; but were the natural growth of a life of celibacy, and seclusion of a mind less forcibly acted upon than most others, by the events and prevalent passions of the times he lived in.'

The manner of his death was remarkable. Having walked out in the evening, he retired to his chamber about ten o'clock, his usual hour, and made an entry in his diary, of the state of the weather. At breakfast time the next morning he was found a corpse, his arms folded on his breast without any indication that departing life had occasioned the least struggle, so tranquil was the end of his peaceful life.

'From life on earth our pensive friend retires,
His dust commingling with the pilgrim sires;
In thoughtful walks their every path he traced,
Their toils, their tombs his faithful page embraced;
Peaceful and pure and innocent as they,
With them to rise to everlasting day.'

1830.—Died in this town, June 4th, Hon. Beza Hayward, Esq., aged 78 years. He was a native of Bridgewater, and graduated at Harvard College in 1772, and devoted himself to the study of theology. When he commenced the clerical profession, the civil affairs of our country were involved in the greatest confusion by the opposition to the oppressive measures of parliament, and there was no encouragement for young clergymen. Being compelled to relinquish his profession, he became a teacher of a school for the higher branches of education. In this employment he continued for several years, when he was chosen to represent his native town in the legislature, and subsequently was elected into the senate, and afterwards a member of the council board. Patriotism, public virtue and love of order were eminent traits in his character. He possessed a peculiar tact for mathematical calculations, and was much relied on for accuracy of results, when for many months he was employed on committees of valuation in the legislature. In the year 1808 he was appointed register of probate for the county of Plymouth, which office he sustained till his death,

and acquitted himself honorably of its duties. In the domestic circle, and as a magistrate he was respected for probity, strict integrity and impartial justice. Under bereavement the virtues of meekness, humility and pious resignation were graciously exemplified in his demeanor. His descendants are John and Susan.

July 6th.—The wife of Captain William Holmes was killed by lightning, while in her house; no other person was injured, but the house was greatly shattered:

December.—We have again been called to commemorate the day so greatly endeared to the hearts of the descendants of the pilgrim fathers.

At a meeting of the Pilgrim Society, a communication was read from Hon. Judge Davis, announcing a donation of fifty copies of his edition of New England's Memorial.

The oration was delivered by the Honorable William Sullivan, which commanded deep and silent attention. It has been published with copious notes annexed, and adds honor to Sullivan, so well known in history, in literature and in science. After the oration, the closing hymn 'Hail Pilgrim Fathers of our race,' was read line by line and sung to the tune of Old Hundred:

The assembly in procession returned to the Pilgrim Hall, where upwards of 200 persons sat down to dinner. Alden Bradford, Esq., president of the Pilgrim Society, was seated in the arm chair of English oak, which came over with the first settlers, and is reputed to have been Governor Carver's. The hall was decorated with ever-greens in a tasteful manner.

1831.—*Anniversary Commemoration.* The first parish in Plymouth having voted that they will annually solemnize, by religious services, the anniversary of the landing of our forefathers, except when the Pilgrim Society shall take the celebration on themselves,* arrangements were accordingly made for the occasion, and a numerous and highly respectable assembly convened on the 22d of December, in the new church of the first parish for divine service. The Rev. Mr. Cole, of Kingston, and Rev. Mr. Goodwin, of Concord, offered our thanksgivings and supplications in a spirit and manner worthy the interesting occasion. The Rev. Mr. Brazer, of Salem, delivered a discourse peculiarly appropriate, from Psalms xxx. 8, 9. It was fraught with interesting intelligence and filial affection. How can we best honor the fathers, and in what way shall we best cherish their memory? This inquiry was awakening to the

* *This vote has since been repealed by the parish.*

feelings of the audience, and the discussions of the eloquent speaker delighted the understandings of those who love to cherish the puritan character. This anniversary was at the same time commemorated in the meeting house of the third parish in this town. The Rev. Dr. John Codman, of Dorchester, was invited to perform the solemnities on the occasion. This sermon has been published, and is honorable to the author, interesting to the antiquarian, and to the admirers of the puritans. A sermon was preached also before the Robinson church and society, by the Rev. Mr. Cobb, of Taunton.

1832.—Centennial Anniversary of the birth-day of Washington. February.—The centennial birth-day of Washington, so peculiarly interesting to the whole population of the United States was celebrated on the 22d instant, by the young men in this town, with commendable ardor and reverence. An oration was delivered by Hon. Solomon Lincoln, which was received with much applause by a crowded audience.

There is a signal felicity in discovering proofs of patriotism and public virtue in those who are soon to be called to the places of such of the present generation as are rapidly passing from the stage of life and usefulness. Much of the welfare and prosperity of our great republic, depends on the purity of principle and sentiment, maintained by the rising generation: on them devolve not only the honor and character of our nation, but the prosperity and happiness of generations to come. For lessons of instructions, we trust they will look to the eventful lives, and the examples of those virtuous men who have finished their earthly career, and are gathered to their fathers. May our young men be directed to discern the true interest of their country, and be cordially united in its pursuit, and may they, like their illustrious progenitors, be renowned for their love of the church, and for a pious attachment to the genuine principles of freedom and the rights of man; cherishing with pious ardor that excellent constitution given them by their renowned sires, nor hastily fritter away its principles with the vain expectation of improvement.

The 212th anniversary of the landing of our forefathers was celebrated by religious services by the first parish in town on Saturday, the 22d day of December. The discourse delivered by Rev. Convers Francis, of Watertown, from John iv. 38,—‘Other men have labored, and ye have entered into their labors.’ ‘It was marked by the fluency of thought and expression, the felicity of classical allusion, and the philosophical discriminations, which distinguish all the productions of this gentleman, and we listened with renewed interest to the oft told

story of the sufferings and achievements of the eminent men, who on the rock of Plymouth, laid the foundation of our present institutions, and breathed into them the spirit of civil and religious liberty." The Rev. Mr. Francis complied with the request of the parish committee, and granted a copy of his discourse for publication.

The discourse delivered in the third parish by the Rev. Jonathan Bigelow of Rochester, is spoken of as being dignified and appropriate.

1833.—December 22d. The anniversary familiarly and appropriately called among us "*Forefather's day*," occurred this year on the Sabbath. The Rev. Mr. Barrett of Boston, preached in the meeting-house of the first parish in this town. His morning sermon was from Zechariah i. 5. 6.

'Your fathers, where are they? But my words and my statutes did they not take hold of your fathers?'

1834.—The anniversary of the landing of our forefathers was this year celebrated by the Pilgrim Society, in a manner that brought to recollection the most interesting events and incidents pertaining to our puritan worthies in their 'days of small things.' In the morning the peels from the bells of the several churches and the cannon from the hill were the signals for the various services. At ten o'clock, the society assembled at Pilgrim Hall, which is now finished, conformably to the original design, by erecting a handsome Doric portico in front of the edifice.

From that place was marshalled a respectable and numerous procession which proceeded to the church of the first parish, which was at once filled in every part. The services in the church were the singing of an Ode "Sons of renowned Sires," a Prayer by Rev. Dr. Kendall, and a discourse. "The discourse was delivered by Rev. George W. Blagden of Boston, and was remarkable as well for its appropriateness as an anniversary address as for the skill with which its topics were selected and discussed. This union of aptness and skill, set off as they were by the excellent manner and voice of the orator, charmed the whole audience, so that there was but one pervading sentiment of satisfaction and delight." We are gratified that this performance is now before the public. The other hymns sung were the hymn by Bryant "Wild was the day," and "Hail Pilgrim Fathers of our race," which after the manner of the Pilgrims was read line by line and sung to the tune of "Old Hundred." The services being closed, the procession returned to Pilgrim Hall, where was prepared an entertainment. Among our respected guests we were gratified with

the presence of Lt. Governor Armstrong, who appeared to take a deep interest in every thing that relates to the puritans.

A splendid ball closed the celebration of the 214th anniversary of our fore-fathers.

Colonel Sargent's Picture—It is with peculiar satisfaction that we record in this place the very valuable donation by Henry Sargent, Esq. of Boston, to the Pilgrim Society, of his magnificent painting, representing our forefathers on their first landing from the Mayflower. It has long been a desideratum, that the walls of our Pilgrim Hall should be adorned with this picture, but for the want of funds it could not be procured, the price being \$3,000. That gentleman has now, with a noble generosity, presented the picture to the Society, and funds have been raised by subscription for the purpose of procuring a rich and costly frame and paying some contingent expenses. We shall now enjoy the satisfaction of contemplating this superb representation of the patriarchs, the founders of our nation on their first arriving on our shores. The Pilgrim Hall is the most appropriate receptacle, and is now suitably prepared to receive it, and the author has, by the grandeur of his conceptions and skill, rendered the painting peculiarly appropriate to the place, and acquired to himself both honor and applause. The frame is gilt, and measures 13 by 16 feet. In page 244 of this volume will be found some notice of this picture by another hand when formerly exhibited. In a letter to the author from the venerable John Trumbull, not long since, he observes: "It gives me great pleasure to learn that Col. Sargent has presented to the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth, his fine picture of the landing of our fathers. The painting has great merit and is perfectly appropriate to your Hall. I congratulate you and the Society, on having so valuable a gift."

The following persons are represented in the several groups attired in the costume of their day.

1. Governor Carver and his wife and children;
2. Governor Bradford;
3. Governor Winslow;
4. Wife of Governor Winslow;
5. Mr. William Brewster, the presiding Elder;
6. Captain Miles Standish;
7. Mr. William White, and his child Peregrine;
8. Mr. Isaac Allerton and his wife;
9. Mr. John Alden;
10. Mr. John Turner;
11. Mr. Stephen Hopkins, his wife and children;
12. Mr. Richard Warren;

13. Mr. Edward Tilley;
14. Mr. Samuel Fuller;
15. Wife of Captain Standish;
16. Samoset, an Indian Sagamore or Lord;
17. Mr. John Howland, of Gov. Carver's family. (He married Gov. Carver's daughter.)

Among the Antiquities in the Cabinet of the Pilgrim Society are the following:

An armed antique chair apparently made for some public use, and reputed to have belonged to Governor Carver.

The identical sword blade used by Miles Standish, the hilt being of more modern date, presented by William T. Williams, Esq.

A pewter dish belonging to Miles Standish, presented by Joseph Head, Esq.

An iron pot belonging to Miles Standish, presented by John Watson, Esq.

The identical cap worn by King Philip. It is helmet shaped, curiously wrought in the manner of net work, and interwoven with red bird's feathers, presented by Mr. Abiathar Wilber.

A piece of Governor E. Winslow's chest, presented by Mr. John Churchill.

Sundry axes, hatchets, tomahawks, arrow-heads, &c. of stone wrought by the natives.

PART III.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF PLYMOUTH.



‘Just men they were, and all their study bent
To worship God aright, and know his works
Not hid ; nor those things last, which might preserve
Freedom and peace to man.’

THE first Church in New England, founded at Plymouth in 1620, was a part of the church under the pastoral care of the celebrated John Robinson. “In the fall of 1608, the churches under Mr. Clifton and Mr. John Robinson, in the North of England, being extremely harrassed, some cast into prison, some beset in their houses, some forced to leave their families, they begin to fly over to Holland with their Rev. Pastor, Mr. Clifton, for purity of worship and liberty of conscience.” In consequence of cruel persecution in their native country for their non-conformity, Mr. Robinson and his band of christian brethren exiled themselves to Leyden, in 1610, where they resided almost eleven years. Their situation among the Dutch did not afford them the advantages and facilities which were desirable. Their resources for support were greatly deficient, the employments for their sons entering on the stage of life were altogether ineligible, and there were reasons to apprehend that by inter-marriages with the Dutch they would lose the English character, for which they still retained a natural attachment. Dissatisfied, therefore, with their situation as a permanent residence, after the most mature deliberation they resolved to emigrate to the unexplored shores of America, trusting in Divine Providence for protection. (See page 13th.) Their agents, employed to negotiate in England for a territory for settlement, described, in touching language, their feelings, and the reasons which induced them to emigrate; that they were well weaned from the

delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; that they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole; no small things would discourage them, or make them wish to return home. They had acquired habits of frugality, industry, and self-denial, and were united in a solemn covenant, by which they were bound to seek the welfare of the whole company, and of every individual person. The letters also contained an exposition of their religious creed, as agreeing with the French reformed churches in faith and discipline, and differing only in some incidental points. But they abjured all right of human invention, or interference in religious matters, not building their hopes on ceremonial observances and on systems of worship. They would have the church thoroughly reformed; that is, purged from all those inventions which have been brought into it since the age of the apostles, and reduced entirely to scripture purity. They were actuated by a natural and pious desire of perpetuating a church, which they believed to be constituted after the simple and pure model of the primitive church of Christ; and a commendable zeal to propagate the gospel in the region of the new world.

‘Like Israel’s host to exile driven,
Across the flood the Pilgrims fled;
Their hands bore up the ark of Heaven,
And Heaven their trusting footsteps led,
Till on these savage shores they trod,
And won the wilderness for God.’—*Pierpont*:

We learn by Dr. Belknap, that the particular sentiments, as to ecclesiastical government, which were held by the church over which Mr. Robinson was pastor, and which had a peculiar influence upon the conduct and character of the settlers of Plymouth, have been comprised under the following heads:

1. That no church ought to consist of more members than can conveniently meet together for worship and discipline.
2. That every church of Christ is to consist only of such as appear to believe in and obey him.
3. That any competent number of such have a right, when conscience obliges them, to form themselves into a distinct church.
4. That this incorporation is, by some contract or covenant, *expressed* or implied.

5. That being thus incorporated, they have a right to choose their own officers.

6. That these officers are pastors, or teaching elders, ruling elders, and deacons.

7. That elders, being chosen and ordained, have a power to rule the church, but by consent of the brethren.

8. That all elders and all churches are equal in respect of powers and privileges.

9. With respect to ordinances, they held, that baptism is to be administered to visible believers and their infant children, but they admitted only the children of communicants to baptism. That the Lord's supper is to be received sitting at the table, (whilst they were in Holland they received it every Lord's day.) That ecclesiastical censures were wholly spiritual, and not to be accompanied with temporal penalties.

10. They admitted no holidays but the christian Sabbath, though they had occasional days of fasting and thanksgiving; and, finally, they renounced all right of human invention and interference in religious matters.

Having sold their estates in Holland, and put the proceeds into a common fund, they began to make preparations for their departure; but so entirely were their minds devoted to religious contemplation and pious exercises, that no secular concerns could be transacted without first offering their aspirations to Heaven for guidance. The aid of the Lord was invoked with sincerity and in faith in all their worldly concerns. Greatly, indeed, were they strengthened and encouraged by the glorious example and fervent prayers of the venerated pastor.

In the early part of the year 1620, Robinson delivered a discourse, the object of which was, to strengthen and confirm the resolution of those who were about to go to America. They had ascertained that a majority of the congregation were inclined to emigrate, but all who had come to that determination could not immediately prepare themselves for the voyage; those who remained, (being the majority,) required of Robinson that he should stay with them, and proposed that Brewster, the ruling elder, should go with the minority; and such was the final arrangement. The minority were to be an absolute church of themselves, as those who should stay, with the proviso, that as any should go over or return, they should be reputed as members, without further dismission or testimonial. The others intended to follow as soon as circumstances would permit.

In July, of the same year, they kept another solemn day of prayer, and Mr. Robinson again preached to them, selecting for his text the very appropriate words in Ezra, chap. viii. verse

21: 'I proclaimed a fast at the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.' This passage was singularly and strikingly adapted to the occasion; and the exhortation in this celebrated sermon breathed a noble spirit of christian liberty, and discovered a spirit of liberality, the more wonderful as the age was an age of bigotry; and proceeding, as it did, from one, who, at one period of his ministry, had been distinguished as a rigid and unyielding Separatist. * Brethren,' said he, 'we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your face on earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows; but whether the Lord hath appointed that or not, I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth, by my ministry; for I am fully persuaded, I am very confident, that the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it, and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast, where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.'

'This is a misery much to be lamented, for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but, were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further light as that which they first received, I beseech you to remember that it is an article of your church covenant, that you shall be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God. Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must here, withal, exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not possible that the christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

'I must also advise you to abandon, avoid and shake off the name of Brownist.* It is a mere nickname, and a brand for

* Brownist, the followers of Robert Brown, a sectary, whose prin-

the making religion, and the professors of it odious to the christian world.' Mr. Robinson also addressed a pastoral letter to his flock, in which he advised them in relation to spiritual matters, exhorting to the practice of charity, and the bearing each others' infirmities, and finally bidding his departing brethren a most affectionate farewell. The entire letter may be seen in Morton's Memorial.

On the 31st of July, 1620, the emigrants departed from Leyden to embark at Delfthaven. They were accompanied by many of their afflicted friends, and by some who came from Amsterdam. The next day they embarked for England in a vessel called the *Speedwell*, which they left and took passage on board the *Mayflower* for America, (see page 14.) At the moment of their going on board at Delfthaven, Mr. Robinson fell on his knees, and with tearful eyes, in a most ardent and affectionate prayer, committed them to their Divine Protector. So great was the grief of this little church, all the members of which had been endeared to each other by so many circumstances, and united by so many ties, that, when they finally separated, the agonizing expression of it drew tears even from the eyes of the Dutch, who had assembled on the quay to see them depart, insensible as they usually were to sorrowful emotions. Well might it be said, behold how these christians love one another! It has been stated, that the Plymouth church was formed from the minority of the Leyden church, and the two churches were like a family, separated for a time, but impatient of a re-union. Robinson was still considered pastor of the Plymouth church; and his expected arrival prevented their ordaining another pastor, or teaching elder; and this was the less necessary, as Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder, was eminently qualified to discharge the duties of both elder and pastor. After the death of Mr. Robinson, he did, in fact, perform all the duties of the two offices, but refused to be ordained as pastor. The Rev. John Robinson was not indulged in his anxious desire to join that portion of his beloved flock which came to America; the means of the congregation being exhausted in the transportation of those who came over, he continued at Leyden during the remainder of his life, which terminated March 1, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age. His death caused the dissolution of the church and congregation over which he presided, and which his talents and piety contributed so much to render

ciples were, in many respects, very exceptionable, in the view of sober Christians, and who at length abandoned them himself, and conformed to the church of England.

illustrious. A part of their numbers remained in Holland, and a part, with the widow and children, came to Plymouth colony. His posterity are yet numerous in various parts of New England. Mr. Robinson was buried in the chancel of the church in Leyden, assigned for the use of his congregation. Mr. Prince, the Chronologist, who visited Leyden, in 1714, was informed by the ancient people, as received from their parents, that as he was had in high esteem, both by the city and university, for his learning, piety, moderation, and excellent accomplishments, the magistrates, ministers, scholars, and most of the gentry mourned his death as a public loss, and followed him to the grave. The late Dr. Belknap thus delineates his character: 'Mr. Robinson was a man of good genius, quick penetration, ready wit, great modesty, integrity, and candor; his classic literature and acuteness in disputation were acknowledged by his adversaries; his manners were easy, courteous and obliging, his preaching was instructive and affecting. Though in his younger years he was rigid in his separation from the Episcopal church, by whose governors he and his friends were treated with unrelenting severity, yet, when convinced of his error, he openly acknowledged it, and, by experience and conversation with good men, became moderate and charitable, without abating his zeal for strict and real religion. It is always a sign of a good heart when a man becomes mild and candid as he grows in years. This was eminently true of Mr. Robinson. He learned to esteem all good men of every religious persuasion, and charged his flock to maintain the like candid and benevolent conduct. His sentiments respecting the reformers, as expressed in his valedictory discourse, will entail immortal honor to his memory, evidencing his accurate discernment, his inflexible honesty, and his fervent zeal for truth and a good conscience. He was also possessed, in an eminent degree, of the talent of peace making, and was happy in adjusting differences among neighbors and in families, so that peace and union were preserved in his congregation.' 'Mr. Robinson,' says Mr. Baylies, 'was a man of uncommon argumentative powers, and maintained a controversy of doctrines, with great ability, against one of the most distinguished and learned professors of the university of Leyden. His farewell sermon is an evidence, not only of his ability, but of a liberality far transcending the bigotry of the age, and would do no discredit to these times.' The followers of Robinson, with their brethren in England, were denominated puritans, from their aversion to the prevailing ceremonies and government of the Episcopal church, which they deemed corrupt and immoral; and it was in this that their puritanism consist-

ed, more than in disputable points of doctrine and opinions. That they were utterly opposed to all human injunctions and restrictions in the worship of God, will abundantly appear from the whole tenor of their history and conduct. Although they disclaimed the name of Brownists, they maintained, in common with that sect, 'that every christian congregation ought to be governed by its own laws, without depending on the jurisdiction of bishops, or being subject to the authority of synods, presbyteries, or any *ecclesiastical assembly*, composed of the deputies from different churches.'

A congregational church is a company of professed christians possessing the exclusive right of self-government in matters of religion, and so far independent as to be amenable to no earthly tribunal for the exercise of its rights and prerogatives. Its rights are to form its own terms of agreement, its own constitutions of doctrine, its own laws of discipline, accountable only to the great Head of all christian churches.

In Prince's Chronology we have the following summary of the religious tenets of the Plymouthean Fathers. They maintained that the inspired scriptures only contain the true religion, and especially, that nothing is to be accounted the Protestant religion respecting either faith or worship, but what is taught in them; and that every man has a right of judging for himself, of trying doctrines by them, and worshipping according to his apprehension of the meaning of them. Their officers were, 1. Pastors, or teaching Elders, who have the power of overseeing, teaching, administering the sacraments, and of ruling; and are therefore to be maintained. 2. Ruling elders, who are to help the pastor in overseeing and ruling. 3. Deacons, who are to take care of the treasure of the church; to distribute for the support of the pastor, the supply of the needy, and the propagation of religion; and to minister at the Lord's table.

In the year 1624, a minister, by name John Lyford, was sent over to be the pastor of this church, but he proved unworthy of confidence and regard. He manifested a perverse and factious spirit, and, forming a connexion with John Oldham, equally perverse, they created great disturbance and unhappiness in the church and among the people. A particular history of these transactions may be found in page 62, of this volume.

In August, 1629, thirty-five families of the Leyden church arrived at Plymouth; and on the 8th of May, 1630, another portion of about sixty in number arrived. They were received with great joy, and the expenses of their transportation were paid gratuitously by the undertakers, and they were supported from the public stores for more than a year. No minister was

settled over this church till the year 1629, when Mr. Ralph Smith, a man of ordinary capacity, having found his way to Plymouth, and being a pious, honest-minded man, was received and ordained the first pastor of the first church in Plymouth. He continued in that station five or six years, when, from his own sense of incapacity, and the persuasions of the people, he resigned his pastoral office. The next who officiated in the sacred office in that church, though not ordained, was the celebrated Roger Williams. This gentleman had been liberally educated, and for a term a pupil of Sir Edward Coke, the illustrious English lawyer. Mr. Williams possessed brilliant talents, and great acquirements. He resided as minister at Plymouth about three years, from 1631; but, by his eccentricity of opinions, and, as supposed, unsound doctrines, his life and conversation became odious to the puritans; and, being himself discontented, he was, by his own request, dismissed to the church at Salem. The subsequent history of this extraordinary character belongs not to this town, and must be sought for elsewhere.* Mr. John Norton, a man of great worth, came over from England in 1636, and preached one winter at Plymouth; and declining to settle, although earnestly desired, he soon after settled at Ipswich, and was, after the death of Rev. Mr. Cotton, translated to Boston, where he was distinguished as a learned divine. Shortly after the dismissal of Mr. Smith, in 1636, the Rev. John Rayner was ordained his successor. He was a person of great humility, worth, and piety. The Rev. Charles Chauncy arrived at Plymouth about the last of December, 1637, being a non-conformist from England. He became an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Rayner, and continued here about three years, when, in 1641, he removed to Scituate, and was elected pastor of the church in that place, where he remained till November 27, 1654, when he was inaugurated as President of Harvard College. Mr. Chauncy was greatly and justly admired, and was strongly urged to settle in conjunction with Mr. Rayner, but he declined on account of some disagreement in point of doctrine, he having imbibed anabaptist principles. The church and people were so warmly attached to him, that every possible effort was made to prevail on him to become their ordained pastor, but he declined every proposition to that effect. He would baptize by immersion only. To obviate the

* Mr. Williams is entitled to the honor of being the first and only man of his time, who boldly asserted and advocated the great cause of religious toleration. He sternly supported the opinion, 'that an universal liberty of conscience ought to be allowed to all, in religious matters.'

objection, it was proposed that he should be permitted to baptize in both forms, but still he declined. At the birth of his twin sons while at Plymouth, Mr. Robert Hicks presented to the youngest, Elnathan, 50 acres of land, as a mark of his attachment to the parent. These twins, Nathaniel and Elnathan, were baptized at Scituate, in December, 1641, by immersion; from the coldness of the water one of them swooned away. In the history of Scituate, by Rev. Mr. Deane, the singular character of Mr. Chauncy is fully delineated. 'President Chauncy,' says Rev. Dr. Eliot, in his Biographical Dictionary, 'as professor of Greek and Hebrew, had no superior, and might have had any preferment in the national church, if he had become subservient to the views of archbishop Laud.'

'A more learned man than Mr. Chauncy was not to be found among the fathers in New England. He was well skilled in many oriental languages, but especially in the Hebrew, which he knew by close study, and by conversing with a few who resided at the same house.' While at Scituate, he was involved in ecclesiastical controversy, but as president of Harvard College his brilliant services and high reputation will ever be gratefully remembered. President Chauncy left six sons, all of whom were educated at Harvard College, and all were preachers.* Governor Carver and Dr. S. Fuller had been chosen the deacons of this church while in Holland; after their deaths their places were supplied by Richard Masterson and Thomas Blossom, both of whom died about the year 1630.

In the year 1632, a new church set off from Plymouth church, was formed at Duxbury, and another was soon after organized at Green's harbor, in Marshfield.

In 1641, an ordinance passed the General Court, that no injunction should be put on any church or church member, as to doctrine, worship or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, beside the command of the bible. About the year 1643 or 1644, many of the inhabitants having left the town by reason of the barrenness of the place, and others contemplating a removal, serious apprehensions arose that the church would soon be dissolved. It was therefore proposed, that the whole should remove bodily, and Nauset (Eastham) was chosen as

* It was for a time the practice in congregational ordinations for laymen to bear a part in the solemnities by laying on hands. Dr. Eliot, in his Biographical Dictionary, gives us the following anecdote. When Israel Chauncy, son of the President, was ordained minister of Stratford in Connecticut, in 1665, one of the lay brothers, in laying on hands, forgot to take off his *mitten*, and this was ridiculed by the Episcopalians by styling it the *leather mitten* ordination.

the place for settlement. But on further consideration, the plan was relinquished; but a part of the church agreed to pay for the whole purchase, which had been made in the church's name, and proceeded to establish a new church at Eastham, which is the third branch from the ancient church; and thus was this poor church, (say the records,) left like an ancient mother grown old, and forsaken of her children, in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness; her ancient members being most of them worn away by death, and those of later times being like children translated into other families; and she like a widow, left only to trust in God. Thus she, that had made many rich, became herself poor. (See page 87.)

On the 16th of April, 1644, the church and society were most grievously afflicted by the death of William Brewster, their ruling elder and kind benefactor. The life of this excellent man was by a kind Providence protracted to the 84th year of his age. His sacrifices in the puritan cause were eminently conspicuous. His perils and sufferings, however trying, were equalled by his humility and patient resignation. Mr. Brewster was born in England in 1560, and educated at the university of Cambridge. He was a man of considerable abilities and learning, and of eminent piety. Though well qualified for the pastoral office, yet his great diffidence would not allow him to undertake the duties of it. In the destitute state, however, of the Plymouth church, his public services as elder were highly satisfactory and useful. In his discourse he was discriminating, yet pathetic; in the government of the church, as ruling elder, he was resolute, yet conciliatory.

After leaving the university he entered into the service of William Davison, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to Scotland and Holland; who found him so capable and faithful, that he reposed the utmost confidence in him. He esteemed him as his son and made him his confidential friend. Davison, while negotiating with the United Provinces, entrusted him with the keys of Flushing, and the states of Holland were so sensible of his merit, as to present him with the ornament of a golden chain. When Davison incurred the hypocritical displeasure of the arbitrary Queen, and was by her reduced to a state of utter ruin and poverty, Mr. Brewster remained his steadfast friend, and gave him all the assistance of which he was capable. Being thoroughly disgusted with the forms, ceremonies and corruptions in the established church, he withdrew from its communion and united with Mr. Clifton and Mr. Robinson, and their newly formed society met on the Lord's day, at Brewster's house, and at his expense. He was appointed a ruling

elder, and he came over with the minority of Mr. Robinson's church, and suffered all the hardships attending their settlement in this wilderness, and partook with them of labor, hunger and watching; and he was always ready for any duty or suffering to which he was called. For many months together, he had, through necessity, lived without bread; having nothing but fish for his sustenance, and sometimes was destitute of that. He enjoyed a healthy old age, and was able to continue his ecclesiastical functions, and his field labor, till within a few days of his death, and was confined to his bed but one day. He left an excellent library for that day, valued at £43, as appraised by Governor Bradford, Mr. Prince and Rev. Mr. Rayner. The whole number of volumes was 275, of which 64 were in the learned languages.

Elder Brewster's two eldest daughters, Patience and Fear, were left in Leyden, and arrived in the Ann in 1624. Mr. Robinson writes to him from Leyden, 'I hope Mistress Brewster's weak and decayed health will have some repairing by the coming of her daughters, and the provisions in this and the other ships sent.—(*Plym. Ch. Records.*) Patience was, soon after her arrival, married to Mr. Thomas Prince, and, before 1627, Fear was married to Mr. Isaac Allerton.* In the division of the cattle in 1627, Elder Brewster was at the head of lot No. 5. As his wife is not mentioned, it may be presumed that she was not living at that time. His sons and unmarried daughters, contained in that list, are Love, a son, Wristling, Jonathan, Lucretia, William, and Mary. It would appear, therefore, that he had eight children, two of whom, it is supposed, were born in this country. These were probably the two last in the list, William and Mary. In an award made August 1645, by William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prince and Miles Standish, between Jonathan Brewster and Love Brewster, they are mentioned as the only surviving sons of Elder Brewster. (*Colony Records*, i. 199.) There are many descendants from this respectable stock who still reside in Duxbury, Kingston, and Plymouth. When the south part of Harwich was separately incorporated, in 1803, it received the name of Brewster, in honor of the venerable pilgrim. A brig was launched in Plymouth, in 1822, and received the name of Elder Brewster.

* In one of the voyages from Plymouth to Massachusetts, when Elder Brewster and Isaac Allerton were on board, the three Brewsters were named in honor of the elder, and point Allerton on Nantasket for Mr. Allerton.

The Rev. Dr. Belknap published an interesting biographical sketch of Elder Brewster; and a very ample character of him, written, as Judge Davis supposes, by secretary Morton, is found in the records of the first church in Plymouth. This is copied into the late edition of the Memorial, and also into the valuable history of the Old Colony, by the Hon. Francis Baylies; from this last production I extract the following elegant paragraph. 'With the most submissive patience he bore the novel and trying hardships to which his old age was subjected, lived abstemiously, and, after having been in his youth the companion of ministers of state, the representative of his sovereign, familiar with the magnificence of courts, and the possessor of a fortune sufficient not only for the comforts but the elegancies of life, this humble puritan labored steadily with his own hands in the fields for daily subsistence. Yet he possessed that happy elasticity of mind which could accommodate itself with cheerfulness to all circumstances; destitute of meat, of fish and of bread, over his simple meal of clams, would he return thanks to the Lord that he could suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand.' By his removal to Leyden with Robinson's church, he sacrificed the most of his estate.* About four or five years after Mr. Brewster's decease, the church made choice of Mr. Thomas Cushman, as his successor in the office of ruling elder; he was the son of Mr. Robert Cushman, who has been frequently mentioned in these pages, as eminently useful in the transaction of the various concerns of the colony. The son inheriting the same spirit as the father, and well qualified by gifts and graces, proved a great blessing to the church; assisting Mr. Rayner, as Mr. Brewster had done

* The following note was presented to our pastor by Hon. Judge Davis.

'When *Elder Brewster* resided in Holland, among other modes of exertion for obtaining a livelihood, we are informed that "he set up printing, (by the help of *some friends*) and so had employment enough." Having lately met with a copy of *Cartwright's Commentaries* on the Book of *Proverbs*, which appeared to have been printed at the Elder's *Leyden* press, or to have been published by him, in that city, in the year 1617, I ask leave, with respect and filial regard, to present the volume to the *First Church in Plymouth*, to be carefully kept by their pastor, Rev. *James Kendall*, D. D., and by succeeding pastors of that ancient church, with whom the memory of *Elder Brewster* is peculiarly and deservedly precious.'

'Boston, Nov. 20th, 1828.'

This volume is in Latin, and contains 1513 pages, large octavo.

Another copy of the above work is in the library of the Pilgrim Society presented by the relict of the late Judge William Cushing.

before him: it being the professed principle, in this church, to choose none for governing elders, but such as are able to teach.

In the year 1654 the church was deprived of their estimable pastor, Mr. Rayner, after very acceptable services for about eighteen years. His character as a preacher of the gospel, and a wise orderer of church affairs, is described by his contemporaries in a most advantageous point of view. The dissolution of the connexion was occasioned by the reduced state of the church and by an existing prejudice against a learned ministry by means of secretaries, then spreading through the country. In fact, the troubles and difficulties which this church were called to encounter, were innumerable and almost insupportable; but it was founded on a rock, and sustained by Almighty power. 'Mr. Rayner,' say the church records, 'was richly accomplished with such gifts and qualifications as were befitting his place and calling: being wise, faithful, grave, sober, and a lover of good men, not greedy of the matters of the world,' &c. He dissolved his connection with the church in November, 1654, to the great regret of the church and people, and was afterwards settled at Dover, N. H., where he remained until his death, in 1669.

In 1648, a meeting house was erected in Plymouth; no dimensions are given, but a bell was attached to it.

In 1634, that ruthless persecutor of puritans, Archbishop Laud, obtained a commission from King Charles I., wherein he, together with the Archbishop of York, and ten more of the minions of Laud, some of whom were papists, were empowered to revoke all the charters, letters patent, and rescripts-royal, before granted from the crown to the several colonies and plantations; and to make such laws and constitutions as to them should seem meet, to remove and displace the several governors and rulers of those colonies, for causes which to them should seem lawful, and others in their stead to constitute, and punish those of them that were culpable, by mulcts and fines, or banishment from those places they had governed; or otherwise to punish, according to the degree of their offence. To remove any of those colonists as well as their rulers, causing them to return to England, or commanding them to other places assigned; as according to their sound discretions should seem necessary; and to constitute judges and magistrates, political and civil, for civil causes, and to fix upon them such a form of government, as to five or more of them should seem expedient. And also to make laws and constitutions, ecclesiastical, and to ordain spiritual courts, to determine on the form and manner of proceeding in the same, and the method of appeals, &c. To

assign congruent portions, tythes, oblations, and other things for the maintenance of the clergy, and to make provision against the violation of any of their constitutions by imposing penalties, by imprisonment, and, if the quality of the offence require it, by deprivation of members of life, to be inflicted, &c. This arbitrary commission, subjecting the country to abject slavery, is recorded at large by Secretary Morton in the church records, that 'after ages may improve it, as an experiment of God's goodness in preventing its taking effect, to the destruction of the Plymouth and other New England churches. There is no mention throughout this arbitrary commission that the laws and ordinances to be enacted by them should be conformable to the laws of England. In pursuance of the aforesaid commission, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was, by the Archbishop's favor, constituted General Governor of the country. But Mr. Edward Winslow, being then an agent in England for the colonies, by his indefatigable endeavors, aided by the influence of some great men, the storm was happily diverted. Mr. Winslow however, shared their vengeance by being committed to the Fleet prison, where he remained about seventeen weeks.* Had the commission been carried into execution, the Plymouth church, and all others in the colonies, must have been entirely annihilated. The great perplexities and troubles occasioned by

*The facts were these. The mischievous Thomas Morton, whose turbulent conduct at Mount Wollaston, is noticed in the N. E. Memorial, was employed by Archbishop Laud and others to complain against the colonists before the lord's commissioners for plantations, to which Mr. Winslow presented a counter statement, which was received as satisfactory. Morton was reprov'd, and others censured for countenancing him. This excited the ire of the Archbishop; who was induced to avenge himself on Mr. Winslow, personally, alleging, that, being a layman, he had assumed the ministerial office in teaching publicly in the church, and in solemnizing marriages. Morton being produced as evidence, testified to the facts. Mr. Winslow replied, that sometimes, when destitute of a minister, he did exercise his gift to help the edification of his brethren, when better means could not be had; and as to the second charge, he acknowledged that he had married some, but as a magistrate, not as a minister; that marriage was a civil ordinance, and he nowhere found in the word of God that it was confined to the ministry; that necessity obliged them to it, having for a long time together at first no minister; that the thing itself was no novelty in the reformed churches, he himself having been married by the magistrate in Holland, in their State House. These replies availed not, and the archbishop, by 'vehement importunity, procured their Lordship's consent to his commitment, upon these and other like charges.'

the new sect of quakers obtruding themselves about the year 1650 and 1660, have already been detailed in a preceding page. The synod of 1662, decided, that all baptised persons were to be considered members of the church, and if not scandalous in their lives, admitted to all its privileges, except a participation of the Lord's supper. This decision was acquiesced in, by the Plymouth church, and most of those of New England. But by some it was contended, that this division was departing from the ancient strictness in admitting persons to the Lord's supper, and abandoning the principles, that particular churches ought to consist of regenerate persons only. It gave rise to what has been commonly called the Halfway Covenant, which was deemed a declension from, and indifference to vital religion. The provision, that none should have the right of freemen but those who were members of some church, was attended with some serious consequences; it prepared the way, in some instances, for corruption in doctrine and practice, and operated to the injury of churches, and the detriment of the cause of religion. No examination for church membership could, in all cases, detect the real motive for the application, and the desire for the enjoyment of civil privileges might be concealed under the veil of religion. Church membership being a qualification for the privileges of freemen, was a source of great dissatisfaction, and was discontinued, partly in 1664, and entirely about 1686. In the years from 1664 to 1666, Mr. James Williams and Mr. William Brimsmead officiated as the ministers of Plymouth, but made no permanent settlement.

1667.—November 30th. Mr. John Cotton, Jr., son of the famous John Cotton, of the first church of Christ in Boston, commenced his ministerial duties in Plymouth, and on June 30th, 1669, was ordained over the first church in this place, having transferred his church membership from Boston. The churches represented were Barnstable, Marshfield, Weymouth, and Duxbury. Elder Thomas Cushman gave the charge, and he aged Mr. John Howland was appointed by the church to join in imposition of hands. The Rev. Mr. Walley made a solemn prayer, and the Rev. Mr. Torrey gave the right hand of fellowship. The ruling elder, with the pastor, made it their first special work to pass through the whole town, from family to family, to inquire into the state of souls, &c. At Mr. Cotton's first settlement, there were resident in the place 47 church members, in full communion, and on August 1st, Mr. Robert Finney and Mr. Ephraim Morton were chosen deacons, and were ordained by the elders. In January following, the church agreed to begin monthly church meetings for religious conference, which were

constantly attended for many years, and much good resulted from that exercise, being on Saturday afternoon previous to the sacramental communion. The number admitted to full communion during the first year of Mr. Cotton's ministry, was twenty-seven. In 1670, fourteen; the next year, seventeen. In 1672, six, and during the 30 years of his ministry, there were 178 members admitted. Mr. Cotton remained in the ministry at Plymouth until 1697; during that whole period he was indefatigable in his exertions to convert the heathen, and no less so in gaining members to his own church. He requested all such members of his church as were heads of families, to attend once in two months, and receive from him sundry questions, which they were to answer from the scriptures. Having read their answers, he gave his own, and preached on the subject. It had been the practice in the Plymouth church for candidates for admission to fellowship, to present an open relation of the experiences of a work of grace in the heart; but in 1688, some alteration in this respect was made, and it was agreed that such as were bashful and of low voice, and not able to speak in public to the edification of the congregation, the elders might bring before the church in private, but voting their admission should be before the congregation; they having been examined and heard before by the elders in private, and they stood propounded in public for two weeks. The relations of the women, being written in private from their mouths, were read in public by the pastor, and the elders gave testimony of the competency of their knowledge.

In town-meeting, October 29th, 1668, it was agreed to allow to Mr. Cotton the sum of £80 for the following year, one third part in wheat, or butter, one third part in rye, barley or peas, and the other third in Indian corn at stipulated prices. In 1677, the same sum was allowed him, and to continue till God in his providence shall so impoverish the town that they shall be necessitated to abridge that sum. In November, 1680, it was voted to convey to Mr. Cotton the minister's house and homestead, and to his heirs forever, except the lot given to the church by Bridgett Fuller and Samuel Fuller, which reserve is the parsonage at the present time. The homestead given to Mr. Cotton was adjoining the present parsonage, on the east side. August 4th, 1687, it was proposed in town-meeting to allow Mr. Cotton £90 for that year, but it was opposed by a large majority, as exceeding their ability, and it was then agreed that the minister's salary should be paid by voluntary subscription. In 1694, Mr. Isaac Cushman was invited to settle as a religious teacher with a church and society formed in that part of Plymouth which is now Plympton. The acceptance of Mr. Cushman laid the foun-

dation of an unhappy and lasting division between Mr. Cotton, the pastor, and his church; the pastor strenuously contended that Mr. Cushman ought not to settle before being designated to the office of ruling elder by the church. This controversy continued about three years with considerable warmth, and occasioned the withdrawal of some of the members of the church. At length, many ill reports were propagated, injurious to the reputation and feelings of Mr. Cotton; and a mutual council was called, with a strong desire of a permanent reconciliation of difficulties. But this proving unsuccessful, it was deemed advisable that the pastor ask a dismission, and that the church grant it, 'with such expressions of their love and charity as the rule called for.' Mr. Cotton accordingly resigned his office, and, at his request, was dismissed October 5th, 1697, to the great grief of a large number in the church and town, who earnestly desired his continuance. After this he tarried more than a year in Plymouth, in which time he preached some sabbaths in Yarmouth; and then having a call to Charleston, South Carolina, he accepted the same, and having made up all differences with the Plymouth church and received a recommendation from several ministers, set sail for Carolina, November 15th, 1698, where he gathered a church, and was very abundant and successful in his labors, as appears from a daily journal, under his hand, which is yet extant.

Mr. Cotton died at Charleston, much lamented, on the 18th of September, 1699, aged about 66. In the short space of his continuance among that people, there were about 25 members added to the church and many baptized. He was treated with the highest honor and respect, and the church manifested their affection for his memory by taking the charge of his funeral, and erecting a handsome monument over his grave. The church in Plymouth erected a stone to his memory also, in the burial ground, with a suitable inscription. From a diary kept by Josiah Cotton, Esq., I have copied the following sketch of the life of his father: 'John Cotton, son of the minister in Boston, was born March 15th, 1639—40, graduated in 1657, and preached at various places in Connecticut, and afterwards in Old Town, on the Vineyard, where he learnt the Indian language. He had a vast and strong memory, and was a living index to the Bible; if some of the words of almost any place of scripture were named, he could tell the chapter and verse; and if chapter and verse were named, he could tell the words. He sometimes preached in the Indian language, and he corrected the second and last edition of the Indian bible. He prayed in Indian, in his Indian lectures. His method of preaching was

without notes. He had a good gift in prayer, in which he greatly enlarged on particular occasions. He was a competent scholar, but divinity was his favorite study. He discharged the work of the ministry to good acceptance, both in public and in private, and was very desirous of the conversion of souls. He ruled his house like a tender parent; was a hearty friend, helpful to the needy, kind to strangers, and doubtless a good man. And yet, what man is there without his failings? He was somewhat hasty, and, perhaps, severe, in his censures upon some persons and things, which he thought deserved it; and that possibly might occasion some hardships he met with, and the violence of some people against him. But the brightness of the celestial world will effectually dispel the blackness of this.' Mr. Cotton strenuously opposed 'the sabbath being called Sunday, as it originated with some heathen nations who were worshippers of the sun, that planet being the object of their idolatry.'*

In July, 1676, the church, and all the churches in the colony, (at the motion of the general court,) solemnly renewed covenant with God and one another, on a day of humiliation appointed for the purpose; wherein, after confession of the prevailing evils of the times, they entered into strict engagements, through the assistance of divine grace, for personal and family reformation. The children of the church bore a part in this transaction. The church also renewed covenant in the like method, in April, 1692; which transactions were attended with much solemnity, and were, according to the account of the church in Plymouth, of great service to the interest of vital piety. But a few months after the first renewal of the covenant in 1676, it was ascertained that some of the brethren walked disorderly, in sitting too long together in public houses with vain company, and drinking. The church unanimously consented that a reason

* The following were the children of the Rev. John Cotton and Joanna his wife. Those marked † died young.

John,	born in Guilford, Connecticut,	August 3d,	1661.
Elizabeth,	do.	do.	August 6th, 1663.
Sarah,	born at Martha's Vineyard,	January 17th,	1665. †
Roland,	born at Plymouth,	December 27th,	1667.
Sarah,	- - -	April 5th,	1670.
Maria,	- - -	January 14th,	1672.
A Son,	- - -	September 28th,	1674. †
Josiah,	- - -	September 10th,	1675. †
Samuel,	- - -	February 10th,	1677. †
Josiah,	- - -	January 8th,	1679.
Theophilus,	- - -	May 5th,	1682.

should be demanded of the party thus offending, and if any did not give satisfactory reason, it should be accounted just matter of offence. The elders then propounded that due care might be taken of the children of the church, that they might not transgress.

In 1683, a new house for public worship was erected on the same spot occupied by the other, 45 feet by 40, and in the walls 16 feet, unceiled, gothic roof, diamond glass, with a small cupola and bell.

1686.—Deacon Finney being disabled by infirmities and old age from going abroad, Mr. Thomas Faunce was unanimously chosen deacon in his stead, and was ordained December 26th, as follows:

Brother Thomas Faunce was ordained deacon of this church, the pastor and elder laid on hands, the pastor then prayed and gave the charge, and then the elder prayed; the charge was given in the following words:

‘Since the Lord and this his church have chosen you, our brother, Thomas Faunce, to the office of Deacon in his house, we do, therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the head of the church, whom God the father hath established to be his king in Zion, ordain and set you apart to the special office and employment of a deacon in this church of God, and, as from the Lord, we charge you to use the office of deacon well, and that you give diligent heed to all those rules in the Holy word of God which set before you the nature and bounds of this your office and work; and, in particular, the Lord requireth of you that you receive the offerings of the church and congregation, and that you therewith conscionably serve all the tables of the church, distributing the offerings made to the Lord with gospel simplicity, not only the ministry of this church, but also with cheerfulness, showing mercy to the Lord’s poor among us, as they may need thereof, according to what you are entrusted withal, for such ends and purposes; we charge you in the name of the Lord to be faithful herein, that you may stand in the great day of the appearing of the Lord Jesus, who will then, before angels and men, call you to give an account of this your stewardship. And we do further, from the Lord, charge you, that you labor the growth and exercise of all those graces that are requisite to furnish you with ability for a regular discharge of this weighty work, which God now calls you unto, namely, wisdom, gravity, sincerity, freedom from guile, sobriety, spiritual and heavenly mindedness, not inordinately reaching after the things of the world; and that, in your whole conversation, you endeavor to be found blameless, exercising yourself to have a

conscience void of offence towards God and man, providing for honest things not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men, that you rule your own family well in the fear of God, and that you hold the mystery of the faith of the gospel in a pure conscience. All which, if in the uprightness of your heart you labor in and for, you will then purchase unto yourself a good degree and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus; which the Lord grant unto you for his mercy sake in Christ, who is our Lord and life. And for which great and gracious blessings let us further call upon the holy name of God.*

Deacon Finney died January 7th, 1687, at 80 years of age. His colleague, Deacon Morton, survived until October 7th, 1693. On the 11th of December, 1691, died Mr. Thomas Cushman, the elder, aged 84 years, having officiated in that office near 43 years. December 16th was kept as a day of humiliation, on account of his death; and a liberal contribution was made for his widow, as an acknowledgment of his great services to the church.

In October, 1681, was introduced the practice of reading the psalms line by line, when singing in meeting; it being proposed by a brother, who, as is supposed, could not read. The elder performed this service, after the pastor had first propounded the psalm. In the spring of 1694, the pastor introduced a new method of catechising, attending it on sabbath day noons, at the meeting-house, the males and females alternately, and preaching on each head of divinity as they lie in order in the catechism. This course was constantly attended through the summer, communion days excepted, and many of the congregation attended. Our present Sunday Schools appear to be a revival of this practice, and reflect honor on our ancestors.

In March, 1694, the church chose George Morton, Nathaniel Wood, and Thomas Clark, to be deacons, and nominated Deacon Faunce and Isaac Cushman, for elders. In the same year Jonathan Dunham and Samuel Fuller received calls, and were ordained to the work of the ministry; the former to Edgartown, (Martha's Vineyard,) the latter at Middleborough, where a church was at the same time gathered, consisting partly of

* 'Anno 1687. Mary Carpenter, (sister of Mrs. Alice Bradford, the wife of Governor Bradford,) a member of the church at Duxbury, died in Plymouth, March 19-20, being newly entered into the 91st year of her age. She was a Godly old maid, never married.' *Plym. chh. records.*

members from Plymouth church. Mr. Fuller died about eight months after, aged 66 years. This was a great public loss, as he was a pious christian, and a useful preacher.*

The same month that Mr. Cotton received his dimission, the church engaged Mr. Ephraim Little to officiate in the pastoral duties; and, after about two years probation, he was ordained their pastor, October 4th, 1699. The churches assisting were those of Weymouth, Marshfield, Duxbury, and the second in Plymouth. The second church in the town had been formed about a year before, and Mr. Isaac Cushman was their ordained pastor. This was the fourth church derived from the Plymouth church, and was seated at a place since called Plympton. In April, 1699, the church chose Deacon Thomas Faunce their ruling elder, to assist Mr. Little in church affairs; and he was ordained to that office by Mr. Little and Mr. Cushman, October 25th, 1699. He was a man of considerable knowledge, eminent piety, and great usefulness, always full of religious discourse. In May, 1706, this church and all the churches in the province, had a contribution for the Island of St. Christophers, which had been insulted and ravaged by the French.

February 6th, 1707, at a church meeting, the pastor proposed to the church the setting up private family meetings, in the respective neighborhoods in the towns, for family and other spiritual exercises, which was approved and agreed upon. On the 3d of June, 1715, the meeting-house built in 1683 was struck by lightning, and very much shattered. In June, 1715, a day of fasting and prayer was observed on account of the great sickness and mortality prevailing in the town, 'about 40 dying in a little time; and behold! a gracious God so farheard the cries of his people that the sickness abated, and there was no death for many weeks after.' In the spring of the year 1716, the church unanimously chose Mr. Thomas Foster and Mr. John Atwood to the office of deacons; but the pastor, questioning the lawfulness and expediency of ordination in such cases, declined it for a time; at which the majority of the church, being much

* Mr. Fuller was the son of Dr. Fuller, who came over in the first ship, and was so useful as a physician and surgeon, and a deacon in the church.

The following is recorded in the Old Colony Book of Records:

'Bridgett Fuller and Samuel Fuller, both of Plymouth, for several reasons moving us thereunto, do by these presents freely give unto the church of Plymouth, now in being, for the use of a minister, a certain garden plat, being half an acre more or less, to the only proper use of the church of Plymouth for the ends abovesaid, to said church successively forever.' Dated March 1st, 1664.

dissatisfied, he at last conceded to give them a solemn charge, but without the imposition of hands, which was done accordingly, the pastor beginning with prayer, and the elders concluding. July 19th, 1718, Ephraim, the son of Eleazer Holmes, was baptized on a Saturday at his house, he being at the point of death, and died about six hours after. This being the first instance of that nature in the town, viz., of baptising privately, the pastor sets down the grounds of the proceeding, as follows: '1. The child was undeniably a proper subject of baptism, the mother being in full communion. 2. I never could find that baptism, (viz., the administration of it,) is any where in the scripture limited to the sabbath, or a public assembly, and I always had a greater regard to the scripture than the custom or practice of any minister, or church,' &c. In 1717, the inhabitants of the north part of the town were set off from Plymouth, and called Jones's River Parish. They organized a church, which was the fifth springing from the Plymouth church. Their first minister was Rev. Joseph Stacy, who was ordained November 3d, 1720.

The Rev. Ephraim Little died November 23d, 1723, aged 47 years. His remains lie in Plymouth burial place, being the first minister buried there, after one hundred and three years settlement. He left no children, and his widow was supported by annual grants from the town, during her life. 'He was a gentleman more inclined to the active, than the studious life; but should be remembered for his useful services as a minister, and for his exemplary life and conversation, being one of good memory, a quick invention, having an excellent gift in prayer, and in occasional performances also excelling. But what can never be sufficiently commended, was the generosity of his spirit, and his readiness to help all that were in distress.' After Mr. Little's decease, and the ministers of the neighborhood had taken their turns in supplying the pulpit, Mr. Nathaniel Leonard was chosen to succeed him, on the 13th of February, 1724, and was solemnly ordained on the 29th of July following. The churches sent to were those of Taunton, Cambridge, Scituate, south church, Pembroke, Middleborough, Bridgewater, north and south churches, and Sandwich. January 22d, 1727, the church elected Mr. Haviland Torrey and Mr. Thomas Clark to the office of deacons. March 18th, Deacon Clark died; on the 29th of December, Deacon Torrey was ordained, with prayer and imposition of hands.

A precinct was made at *Manomet Ponds* in 1731, but not incorporated. On the 8th of November, 1747, a church was embodied there, consisting of 25 members from the parent church;

and Jonathan Ellis was ordained the pastor. This was the sixth derived from the ancient church, and the second of Plymouth. Mr. Ellis was enthusiastic; he participated in all the extravagances and fanatic irregularities introduced by Andrew Croswell, a few years after his settlement, and proceeded to such excesses of religious frenzy, that his people thought proper to dismiss him, preferring, they said, to travel from 7 to 9 miles to meeting, rather than countenance his conduct. A council was convened, and by its advice Mr. Ellis was dismissed, October 31st, 1749. Hesoon after however, received a call from the church at Little Compton, where he was installed December 5th, 1749.—December 26th, 1753, Elijah Packard, of Bridgewater, was ordained at Manomet Ponds; sermon by Rev. Mr. Perkins, Mr. Leonard, Mr. Angier, and Mr. Bacon assisting. Mr. Packard continued their minister till 1757, after which the society continued destitute thirteen years. In 1770, April 18th, Rev. Ivory Hovey was installed over the church at Manomet Ponds, where, to use his own words, he 'lived peaceably and comfortably.' This pious and venerable man died greatly lamented, November 4th, 1803, four months advanced in his 90th year. Mr. Hovey graduated at Harvard in 1735, and in October, 1740, he was ordained at Rochester south parish, whence, at his own request, he was dismissed in 1769, in consequence of sectarian influence. He kept a diary, comprised in nine octavo volumes of almost 7000 pages. 'How uniform and how tranquil must have been the tenor of his way.' Blessed are the meek. Mr. Hovey was an exemplary christian, and mutual attachment and love subsisted between him and his people. The successor of Mr. Hovey was Rev. Seth Stetson, who was ordained July 18th, 1804; the sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Barker, of Middleborough, Mr. Niles and Mr. Judson, assisting in the solemnities. Mr. Stetson commenced his ministry reputedly a devotee to Hopkinsian doctrines; after a few years he adopted unitarian principles, and again wavering his faith, he became a convert to the universal sentiments, when the connexion was dissolved.

The precinct at Manomet Ponds was incorporated in 1810, when its boundaries were enlarged, including Halfway Ponds. Rev. Harvey Bushnell succeeded Mr. Stetson, and was ordained November 21, 1821. He continued his connexion but a short time, and was succeeded by Rev. Moses Partridge, in 1824, who died, greatly lamented, September 25th, of the same year, aged 36 years. Rev. Joshua Barret, was ordained in 1826. The present pastor is the Rev. Gaius Conant.

After several years consideration, the Plymouth church voted

their consent to the synod's propositions, in 1662, relating to the subject of baptism; it being ever their practice, before, to admit only the children of communicants to baptism.

January 31, 1733-4.—At the motion of the pastor, the first church unanimously voted to desire the deacons to catechise the children between meetings on the sabbath, as soon as the days were sufficiently lengthened; to ask them four or five questions at a time, till they had learnt through the catechism.

In February, 1743, Mr. Andrew Croswell, a famous itinerant preacher, came to this town, and commenced preaching and exhorting in such a wild manner as to throw the whole town into the utmost confusion. On a sacrament day he publicly declared that he had reason to think that three quarters of the communicants of that day were unconverted. Curiosity induced many people to attend his preaching, and his audience soon became very numerous. His meetings were sometimes continued the whole twenty-four hours, with little intermission, allowing the people no time for serious, calm reflection. At length the disorder became so great that it appeared as though the people were affected with a religious delirium. Croswell was so lost to all sense of propriety and decorum, that he actually pressed negroes and children into the pulpit to exhort the people, and having their own passions excited, noise and outcry filled the assemblies. Those friends to religion and order who opposed these irregularities, or would not go the whole length with Croswell, were called enemies to religion and God. The Rev. Mr. Leonard, the pastor of the first church, gave countenance and encouragement to these extravagant proceedings, and additions were made to his church. This strange infatuation continued several weeks, and an alteration was observable among the people, but a change from open profaneness and irreligion to a boisterous extravagance of enthusiasm and rash judging of others is not to be deemed a proper reformation. Many serious people were offended, some absented themselves from the communion, some went to other meetings, or stayed at home. The friends of rational sober religion deprecated the system of itinerant preaching, as calculated to subvert the influence and counteract the labors and exertions of settled pastors, destructive to church order and decency, and having a direct tendency to unsettle faithful ministers of churches, and cause discord among the brethren.

Josiah Cotton, Esq., a member of the first church, being alarmed for the honor of religion and the prosperity of the church, made a written request, that the pastor would assemble *the church* to consider the following things:—

' 1. Whether a sudden and short distress, and as sudden joy, amounts to the repentance described and required. (2 Corin. vii. 9—11.)

' 2. Whether the judging and censuring others as unconverted against whose lives and conversation nothing is objected, be not too pharisaical, and contrary to the rule of charity prescribed in the Word, and a bold intrusion into the divine prerogative.

' 3. Whether that spirit which leads us off from the scriptures, or comparatively to undervalue them, be a good spirit; as, for instance, the disorder and confusion in our public meetings, contrary to the scripture rule, (1 Cor. xiv.) the breaking in upon the order and religion of families, by frequent, unseasonable evening lectures, without scripture precept or example, (except one extraordinary case.)

' 4. Women and children teaching and exhorting in the public assemblies, contrary to the apostolical direction. Many other things might be mentioned, but are omitted. But inasmuch as it has been publicly suggested that three fourths of this church are unconverted, we would humbly move that we may meet together, in order to know whether they are in charity with one another, and also, that the admission of members may not be too hastily pushed on, till we are better satisfied concerning the spirit that stirs up people to their duty herein.'

It does not appear that this address received the required attention; and a part of the society, dissatisfied with the prevailing disorder, resolved to separate, 'the old lights from the new.' Josiah Cotton, Esq., with eighty others, petitioned to be separated from the old society, which was granted; and in 1744, a new church and society was formed from the old, and was called the Third Church and Congregation in Plymouth. This was the seventh from the ancient church. The venerable Elder Faunce was an opposer of Croswell, and on this occasion, a seceder from Mr. Leonard's church. This new society erected a house of worship, which was dedicated by Rev. Mr. Eels, of Scituate, January 5th, and he preached in it again on the following sabbath. This house was located in King's, now Middle street, and was a neat, convenient edifice, of wood, with a tower and spire in front. The lot was a donation from Thomas Murdock, Esq. Croswell continued to distinguish himself by his arrogance and fiery expressions against many who were esteemed as the best of men in society. He held the opinion, that holiness of heart and life is no good evidence of justification; but that it lays in some feelings, or impressions, or manifestations of the love of God, and joy in him, *without, or beside*

the scripture. His many trances, visions, dreams, and extacies, finally cooled the wild proceedings, and terminated the delusion.

In 1744-5, Mr. Whitefield, an English Episcopal clergyman, about twenty-five years of age, itinerating through the country, came to Plymouth by invitation and preached six sermons to a very numerous audience. The power of his oratory, accompanied as it was, by very extraordinary gesticulations, and by great fluency and readiness in speaking without notes, together with his new and unusual phraseology, and his zeal in the cause to which he had devoted so much labor, was very captivating with most people, though some did not like and others would not hear him.

Mr. Whitefield came again to Plymouth, November 1755, and preached five sermons in three days, with popular applause.

The Rev. George Whitefield, in 1749-50, made a public confession (in print) that he had been too free with the characters of men, and also using the apostolic style in his writings, giving too much heed to impulses, and having too much wild-fire in his zeal; all which he condemned, but his admirers approved.—*Cotton's MS. Diary.*

July, 1744.—The first society in Plymouth, erected a new meeting-house, which they began to raise on the seventeenth, and on the twenty-ninth they began to meet in it. Mr. Leonard preached on the occasion.

November 7th, 1744.—Rev. Thomas Frink, who had been minister at Rutland, was installed as pastor of the third church and society in this town, when Rev. Dr. Chauncy of Boston preached the sermon. This connexion continued till 1748, when by mutual consent Mr. Frink returned to Rutland. He is said to have possessed strong mental powers, and handsome literary acquirements. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1722.

May 2d, 1745.—Mr. Thomas Foster, son of the late pious Deacon Foster, and Mr. Joseph Bartlett were chosen deacons.

February 27th, 1745-6.—Thomas Faunce, ruling elder in the first church, died at the advanced age of ninety-nine years. He was the son of John Faunce. The father dying while the son was a child, Captain Thomas Southworth took him by the hand at the grave, led him to his own home, and from that time bestowed on him paternal affection. In the family of Mr. Southworth he was educated and instructed, and here his mind received the rudiments of those principles of humility and piety, by which he was so remarkably distinguished in after life. It has been related, that the elder has often been heard to say *that for this education he should have reason to bless God to*

all eternity. He was first chosen deacon and afterwards elder, and he was the last that held that office. In those days the office of elder was one of great consideration. An elder was regarded as the virtual representative of the church, and on an equality with the pastor. He was bound to keep a watchful eye over the doctrines preached as well as the principles and practices of the brethren.

The Elder's house stood on the west side of the road near Eel river bridge. The house in which Mr. Josiah Morton now lives was a new addition attached to the ancient house, which was taken down about thirty years ago. Elder Faunce had two sons and two daughters, and the descendants are very numerous.

Rev. Jacob Bacon, who had been a minister of Keene, New Hampshire, about ten years, was installed over the church of Plymouth, in 1749, of which he continued the beloved and respected pastor till 1776, when the connexion was dissolved by mutual consent, the society still diminishing in consequence of the war. Mr. Bacon preached about eighteen months at Plympton, second parish, (now Carver) whence he retired to Rowley, where he died 1787, in the eighty-first year of his age. Mr. Bacon was born at Wrentham, 1706, graduated at Harvard College 1731.

October 3d, 1754.—Mr. John Torrey, son of the former deacon, was chosen to that office. In the autumn of the year 1755, the Rev. Mr. Leonard labored under many infirmities of body, and, in the spring of 1756, he asked a dismission, which the church granted on certain conditions. The precinct agreed to give him £160, lawful money, and he removed his family to Norton, June, 1757—dismission from his pastoral relation to the church not to be completed till another minister was settled. The connexion with the Rev. Mr. Leonard being thus dissolved, the church used unwearied endeavors for the resettlement of the gospel ordinances among them; but it was two years before their desirable purpose could be accomplished. Among the numerous candidates, were a Mr. Sproat, then settled in Connecticut, afterwards minister in Philadelphia; Mr. Whitney, Mr. West, and not less than four or five others. At length the church and congregation were happily united in the choice of Mr. Chandler Robbins of Branford in Connecticut. The votes in the church being thirty-three to two, in the parish fifty-two to nine. The stipulated annual salary was £100 lawful money, with the improvement of the parsonage, and the privilege of cutting firewood from the parish lot. The parish also agreed to build for his use a parsonage house, which is the one now standing on the north side of Leyden street, and occupied by the present pastor.

Mr. Robbins was solemnly ordained to the work of the ministry, January 30th, 1760. The churches assisting on this occasion were, the first, third, and fourth, of Bridgewater; the first of Rochester; the first of Plympton; the first of Middleborough; Abington; Halifax; Bristol; Taunton; Raynham; Berkley; Milton; and Branford, in Connecticut. The sermon was preached by Rev. Philemon Robbins, of Branford, the father of the pastor elect. On the same day that Mr. Robbins was ordained, the church, pursuant to agreement, and by the advice of the council, gave Mr. Leonard, who was personally present and assisted in the laying on of hands, a dismission in the most cordial terms, and a free and hearty recommendation to other churches. In 1783, the third church and congregation united with the first church and congregation into one parish. The meeting-house belonging to the third parish was demolished, and the lot disposed of, leaving an alley-way, six feet wide, through said lot.

In 1794, about fifty persons of high standing in the parish, not in all points satisfied with the ministry of the Rev. pastor, advanced proposals for a separation, and a formation of a new religious society, offering at the same time to erect a new house for worship. This proposal received attention at the hands of the pastor and church, and committees were chosen by the parties. Interviews and consultations ensued, compromise and reconciliation were attempted, but in vain. On the side of the church, the most rigid adherence to rules, precepts, and doctrines, was manifested. The applicants, too honorable to torture the feelings of a conscientious minister, and deeming the peace of society too precious to be disturbed, yielded to the stronger side, consenting still to pay their proportion for the support of preaching preferred by the majority, and contenting themselves with the report of their committee, which closes as follows: 'Upon the whole, the committee are constrained to lament the narrow policy of the church, in excluding from its communion many exemplary christians, merely on account of their different conceptions of some points of doctrine, about which learned and good men have entertained a great variety of opinions, and this circumstance is more especially a source of regret at this enlightened period, when the principles of civil and religious liberty are almost universally understood and practised; for, whatever stress some persons may be disposed to lay on matters of mere speculative belief, the benevolent genius of the gospel will teach its votaries, amidst all their differences of opinion, to exercise mutual candor and indulgence *that they may, if possible, preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.*'

June 30, 1799.—Rev. Chandler Robbins, D. D. departed this life, aged 61, after a ministry of 39 years over the ancient church and congregation in this town. He was born at Branford in Connecticut, August 24, 1738. His father was Rev. Philemon Robbins, a native of Cambridge, Mass. who graduated at Harvard College 1729. He graduated at Yale College 1756, and he is said to have been there distinguished as a correct classical scholar, and besides common acquirements in the classics, he learned the French language, which he read, wrote, and occasionally spoke, through life. In his church records, I find one instance in which he performed the marriage ceremony in the French language. ‘*Early impressed with the truth and importance of the christian system, and qualified, by divine grace, for the gospel ministry, he commenced a preacher of this holy religion before he reached the age of twenty.*’ During his ministry he was ever anxious to be instrumental in softening the callous heart of impiety, and silencing the tongue of infidelity: and his exemplary piety and religious zeal were calculated to shield him from the reproaches of those who dissented from his doctrines. In him was an example of religion united with taste and accomplishments, courteous manners with an amiable cheerfulness of disposition. The funeral solemnities of Dr. Robbins were performed in the meeting-house, when the throne of grace was addressed in an impressive manner, by the Rev. Mr. Shaw, and an ingenious discourse was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Sanger. His remains were deposited in the Plymouth burial ground, with the puritan fathers, the parish by a committee, directing the solemnities and defraying the expense. On a subsequent sabbath the Rev. William Shaw delivered a well-adapted discourse, which was published and dedicated to his bereaved family and flock.

Dr. Robbins manifested, unceasingly, an interest and solicitude for the cause of religion in general, and for the welfare and prosperity of the church and society of which he was the pastor. In theological sentiment, Dr. Robbins was strictly Calvinistic, believing the *five points* equally essential with any points in holy writ. He also adopted some of the peculiar doctrines and tenets of Hopkins, with which his sermons were often tinged, to the displeasure of many of his hearers. His occasional sermons were delivered with graceful eloquence and animation, which seldom failed to receive the applause of his audience. When, in May, 1794, he preached before the convention of ministers, from Acts xx. 26: ‘*I am free from the blood of all men,*’—coming out of the house, Dr. Clark of Boston, cordially *thanked him for his excellent sermon.* Dr. Morse asked him,

why he did that, since he did not concur in the sentiments which had been delivered? He replied, 'I love to see a minister act the part of an honest man.' He observed to a friend, that he felt it to be his duty on that occasion to offer a distinct exhibition of his own views of the christian salvation. His success in producing and maintaining the harmonious union of his numerous flock, was remarkable. But his peculiar suavity of manners and christian humility, with his felicity of expression, rendered his religious sentiments acceptable to many persons, who would not have well received similar sentiments from any others. He maintained, for several years, an extensive correspondence with English clergymen; one of these, whom he held in much estimation, was Rev. John Newton, rector of Olney, in London. Dr. Robbins coinciding with this gentleman in religious views, imported numerous volumes of his works, for the use of those of his parish who maintained similar sentiments.

A Doctorate in Divinity was conferred on him at Dartmouth College, in 1792, and by the University of Edinburgh, in 1793. His pastoral cares were very extensive, comprising the whole town, with the exception of Ponds' parish, subsequent to the year 1783, when the third church and society united with the first. In the discharge of his laborious duties, he was ever found faithful and kind. He preached chiefly without notes, having before him, as he termed it, the *skeleton* of his sermon. In prayer, he was peculiarly devotional and fervent. His voice was melodious, and his taste for music, both vocal and instrumental, was truly refined. Notwithstanding his parish was one of the largest in the commonwealth, and a considerable portion entertained sentiments opposed to those of the pastor, yet not a family but could unite under the same altar in the bonds of charity. Whatever may have been the diversity of opinion entertained by such a multitudinous assemblage, peace and harmony were seldom interrupted, nor affection and respect for the minister diminished. Dr. Robbins was consoled and encouraged in his ministerial labors by the accession of about fifty members to his church in the latter part of his life, and an uncommon engagedness in the cause of religion among the people of his charge. The poorest family in the parish would meet him at the threshold with delight, the sick and afflicted relying with perfect confidence on his cordial sympathy and condolence.

Dr. Robbins was destined to live during a remarkable period of our national history. In the revolutionary struggle he was a most zealous advocate for liberty and independence, and rendered essential advantages to the cause in his sphere of action.

He was among the foremost of our patriotic clergymen, and subsequently, when our political hemisphere was darkened by party spirit, he pursued a consistent course in the support of order and good government. He married Jane Prince, of Boston, niece of late Rev. Thomas Prince, the annalist of New England. This accomplished lady died September, 1800, aged 60 years.

Their children who lived to adult age, were five sons and two daughters; two of the sons were graduates of Harvard, one of whom died at Marietta, where he was settled in the ministry. Two sons and a daughter still survive.

Dr. Robbins's publications bore such strong marks of the *divine*, the *gentleman*, and the *scholar*, as to reflect much honor on his name and memory. They are as follow:—

Replies to Essays of Rev. John Cotton, on the practice of the half-way covenant.—Sermon on the death of Madam Watson, consort of George Watson, Esq., of Plymouth.—Sermon on the death of Mrs. Hovey, wife of James Hovey, Esq.—At the ordination of Rev. Lemuel Le Baron, at Rochester, 1772.—At the annual election, Boston, 1791.—Address commemorative of the French Revolution, 1793.—Sermon on the anniversary of the landing of the fathers at Plymouth, December 22d, 1793.—Century Sermon at Kingston, April 2d, 1794, at the request of its subject, Ebenezer Cobb.—Sermon before the Massachusetts Convention of Ministers, 1794.—Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Eliphalet Gillet, at Hallowell, August 12th, 1795.—Address before the Massachusetts Humane Society, June 14th, 1796.—Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Ward Cotton, at Boylston, 1797.

After the death of Dr. Robbins, the pulpit was supplied by the ministers who composed the association to which he belonged, and the salary was continued for the benefit of the widow and family. The selection of a candidate to fill the office of pastor to this ancient church and congregation, was considered as a measure requiring great circumspection. A clear majority were in favor of a learned and enlightened clergyman, possessing liberal principles, free from all sectarian dogmas, who would preach the christian salvation in its pure simplicity; while a respectable minority manifested a conscientious adherence to the faith and doctrines of their late beloved minister, whose memory they cherished with filial affection. Their feelings and desires were to be consulted, and it would have been unkind to deprive them of their rights, or to control their opinions. The parish committee proceeded to the choice of a candidate, Mr. James Kendall, a native of Sterling, who commenced his proba-

tionary course on the 2d sabbath in October, 1799. In December, he received an invitation to become the pastor of the church and congregation, which, with much deliberation, he accepted. The call was first given by the church, 23 to 15, and concurred in by the congregation, 253 to 15. A committee of three from the church, and five from the parish, was chosen to make preparations for the ordination. The day appointed for that solemnity was January 1st, 1800; and the churches invited were, second church in Andover, church in Sterling, first church in Cambridge, church in Dorchester, third in Newbury, Brattle street in Boston, church in Kingston, third church in Bridgewater, church in Carver, church in Marshfield, second in Plymouth, second in Rochester, first in Middleborough. Also, were invited President Willard, Rev. Dr. Tappan, and all the government of Harvard college. The sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. French, of Andover, and the other solemnities were performed by Rev. Dr. Peter Thacher, Rev. Dr. Tappan, Rev. Mr. W. Shaw, and Rev. Mr. Howland, of Carver. On the following sabbath two excellent sermons were preached by Dr. Tappan, which were published. Rev. Mr. Kendall graduated at Cambridge, in 1796, and was a tutor there when he received the invitation to settle. The honorary degree of D. D. was conferred on him at Harvard University in 1825. The conditions of settlement were, six hundred dollars salary, and the improvement of the parsonage, consisting of a house and garden, and several pieces of land and meadow; subsequently, one hundred dollars were added, in consideration of fire wood.

In October, 1800, the Rev. Dr. Dwight, then President at Yale college, passed a sabbath in this town, and officiated in our pulpit. In his third volume of travels, he makes the following remark: 'On Sunday, we found a large and very decent audience in the old church. A singular custom was here exhibited to us; more than fifty bills were read by the clergyman, desiring the prayers of the congregation for families in affliction. They were, principally, occasioned by the death of nine inhabitants, almost all of them at sea, which had either happened, or been first heard of, during the preceding week. In such a case, it seems a bill is presented for every branch of a family, which is peculiarly interested in the melancholy event.' This practice is now, in a great measure, discontinued.

In 1801, the third congregational church of Plymouth was organized from the first church, and is the seventh branch from the original stock, now existing. In 1802, Deacon John Bishop and one hundred and fifty-three others were incorporated into a

society, by the name of the third congregational society. In their petition, they stated the first parish consisted of 3044 souls, and more than 500 rateable polls, making it inconvenient to worship in one house. This new society erected a house of worship in 1801, in a pleasant situation fronting the *training green*, sixty feet by fifty-two, with a cupola and bell. Their first minister was Rev. Adoniram Judson, who had formerly been pastor of a church and society at Malden, county of Middlesex. He was installed May 12th, 1802, and becoming a baptist, the connexion was dissolved August 12th, 1817.

Mr. Judson was held in respect for his moral virtues, and his meek and pious demeanor. He died in Scituate, in 1826. The oldest son of Mr. Judson has been a zealous and respectable Baptist Missionary in the Birman empire, since the year 1812. The Rev. William T. Torrey succeeded Mr. Judson, and was installed January 1st, 1818, and he was dismissed March 12th, 1823. It is understood that the cause of his dismissal existed with the church, there being a majority in the congregation in his favor.

On the 26th of November, 1814, the first church was called to mourn the death of a pious and beloved brother, Deacon William Crombie, aged eighty-three years. He was a native of Andover, and officiated in the office of deacon nearly thirty-eight years. 'He was,' says the church records, 'a good man, and an excellent spirit was in him.' This was fully verified during the whole course of his life; being meek and humble in his temper, few men exhibited clearer evidence of a pure and upright heart. He had several children; but one only, the widow of the late Dr. Nathaniel Bradstreet, of Newburyport, survives.

In 1814, a new church and society were formed at Eel river, from the first and third congregations, and being incorporated, they erected a meeting-house in that village, which will accommodate the inhabitants in that vicinity and South Ponds, who were distant from three to six miles from their former place of worship. This is the fourth congregational church and society in Plymouth, and the Rev. Benjamin Whitmore is their minister.

A Baptist church was constituted here in 1809, and the Rev. Lewis Leonard was ordained their first pastor. Rev. Caleb Blood, of Boston, preached the sermon. Mr. Leonard was succeeded by Rev. Stephen S. Nelson, July 28th, 1820, who continued his connexion till May, 1823, when Rev. Benjamin Grafton became their pastor. He resigned in May, 1829, when the office devolved on Rev. Thomas Conant, their present pastor.

In 1821, this society erected a commodious house of worship, in Spring street.

We have a small society in town of the denomination called Christians. The sentiments of this denomination have been explained at large by Rev. Mr. Clough. They object to the Trinity and other Calvinistic doctrines. By some they are called Free-will Baptists. Mr. Joshua V. Himes was ordained their minister, in 1825. This connexion was soon dissolved, but without any faulty conduct on his part.

In 1824, Rev. Frederic Freeman succeeded Rev. William T. Torrey, as pastor of the third church and congregation in this town, and was installed accordingly, having been ordained in North Carolina, as an Evangelist.* This church ever have been Calvinistic in doctrine and practice, and their pastor was professedly of the same orthodox persuasion. But in 1830, six years after his settlement, the church became greatly agitated by a spirit of disaffection according to the statement of the aggrieved party; a majority of the church manifested a desire that the pastoral connexion should be dissolved. To prevent this, a compromise by a division of the church was agreed upon, and a mutual council was called to sanction the measure of separation. This council convened on the 17th of March, and the result of their deliberations was a separation of the aggrieved party, consisting of 59 members, to be formed into a distinct church. The seceding division then convened another council, April 13th, by whom they were organized, and they are denominated the *Robinson Congregational Church*. This is the fifth church in Plymouth, and a society consisting of seceders from the third congregation having united with them, they, in 1831, erected a handsome house of worship in Pleasant street, and engaged Rev. Charles J. Warren as their religious instructor. Thus our churches multiply by divisions and subdivisions.

The first Universalist society in Plymouth was organized March 10th, 1822, and incorporated in February, 1826. The same year, they erected a handsome meeting-house on the north side of Leyden street. The dimensions are 50 by 70 feet, containing 76 pews. The house is handsomely painted inside and out, and is furnished with a superior toned bell, an eight day clock, and an elegant chandelier and stove. The house was dedicated December 22d, 1826; the sermon was preached by

* Mr. Freeman is the son of Nathaniel Freeman, Esq., late of Sandwich. He repaired to North Carolina when young, where he married, and was employed as a teacher, in an institution for the instruction of youth.

the Rev. David Pickering, of Providence, and in the afternoon the Rev. James H. Bugbee was ordained the minister of the society, the ordaining sermon by Rev. John Bisbee, of Hartford. They have a church, which, in 1833, consisted of 33 members, and the society is composed of 172 rateable polls.* 'As a religious society, they sacredly maintain and believe that point of doctrine which affirms that there is no *positive scripture proof* of any punishment in a future and immortal state of existence. One proof of their views may be found recorded in Prov. xi. 31.'—*Communicated by Dr. R. Capen.*

In May, 1833, Mr. Freeman, the pastor of the third church and society, was again involved in personal animosity and contention with his people. He was now obliged to ask his dismission from the church, and at a parish meeting the ministerial connexion was, by unanimous consent, dissolved.

The Rev. Mr. Thomas Boutelle was ordained over the third Congregational Church and society, May 21st, 1834. The officiating ministers were, Rev. Dr. Humphrey, President of Amherst college; Rev. Mr. Gay, of Bridgewater; Rev. Mr. Dexter, of Plympton; Rev. Mr. Cobb, of Rochester; Rev. Mr. Winslow, of Boston; Rev. Mr. Nott, of Wareham, and Rev. Mr. Holmes, of New Bedford.

New Meeting-House of the First Parish.

*Beautiful in its elevation is Mount Zion!'

In the year 1831, the first parish in Plymouth came to the resolution to demolish their old meeting-house, which was in a state of decay, having stood eighty-seven years. A large proportion of the pews, from the numerous changes that had taken place for years past, were in the hands of persons not connected with the parish; and those who were desirous of becoming proprietors, would not involve themselves in the expense to which a decayed house is constantly liable. A committee of disinterested persons was appointed to appraise the pews in the old house, and the building was sold at auction. In bidding adieu to this ancient temple, to which the society retained a devoted attachment, as the house of their fathers' worship, the Rev. Dr. Kendall, on the 10th of April, 1831, preached an appropriate sermon in his excellent style, in which he gave a brief history of our ancient church, and a detail of the several societies derived from it. During the interval of eight months, in which the new house was in building, the church and congre-

*Rev. Mr. Bugbee died May 10th, 1834.

gation held their public worship in the county court-house, where they were provided with convenient accommodations.

On Wednesday, the 14th of December, 1831, the new meeting-house of the first parish was dedicated to the worship and service of God. A numerous and highly respectable congregation was assembled. Prayers and reading the scriptures were performed by Rev. Mr. Kent, of Duxbury, Rev. Mr. Goodwin, of Sandwich, and Rev. Mr. Cole, of Kingston. The Rev. pastor, Dr. Kendall, delivered an excellent catholic sermon, from Ezra vi. 16. Among the various topics, the speaker adverted with reverence to the venerable pastor of the pilgrims, and his puritan associates. In speaking of the sacred temple, his invocation was, 'May these consecrated walls never reverberate with licentious opinions, the shouts of fanaticism, nor the denunciations of bigotry.' The services were closed by a fervent and impressive prayer by Rev. Mr. Brooks, of Hingham. During the services, four hymns were sung, three of which were composed for the occasion.

The worshippers in this house are Unitarians, believing that 'Unitarian christianity is the only system of faith and duty which can be drawn from the New Testament by a just interpretation of its contents.'

This noble edifice is composed of wood, and is a beautiful specimen of church architecture. It was designed by George W. Brimmer, Esq., of Boston, and executed by an ingenious artist, Mr. Richard Bond, of Boston, who completed the work in a manner highly creditable to himself, and satisfactory to the parish.

The body of this church measures 71 feet by 60, and from the floor to the spring of the ceiling is 36½ feet,—is without galleries, except that for the singers, which is in the tower, over the entrance into the lower part of the house, and opens under a large gothic arch of 42 feet base. This gallery is lighted by the high gothic window in front, and thus the whole length of the building is seen from the pulpit. The floor accommodates 124 pews, the interior of which are painted light green, while the exteriors are in beautiful imitation of oak, by Mr. Whitaker, and are capped with mahogany. The side windows, which are eighteen feet high, and seven feet wide, contain 284 diamond lights each;—the glass being ground, the light is uniform and agreeable. The pulpit is of common form, the pannels and balusters gothic, and the whole painted in imitation of oak. A crimson silk curtain is suspended from a gothic cornice, and on each side of the pulpit is a candelabra supporting a handsome bronze lamp; and there is also on each side a smaller lamp, on

a moveable stand. The house is warmed by two furnaces in the lower apartment, the heat ascending through a niche on each side of the door. The front is four feet wider than the body of the church, has a tower projecting $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and rising 87 feet in height, with encircled octagon pillars at the corners, surmounted with ornamental pinnacles, and has wings, with similar pillars at their cornices and on the sides. The wings contain the stairs which lead to the singers' gallery and to the belfry. The front door is pannelled and of a low arch, over which is a quartrefoil band. Above this is the front window, 36 feet high and $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, containing 540 diamond lights, and is divided like the side windows, into three divisions, with gothic scrolls at the bottom. The whole expense of this superb building, including the cellar, does not exceed \$10,000. In the afternoon on the day of the dedication, the pews were offered at auction, and 103 were sold at an advance above the appraisal of nearly \$1800. The amount of sales has been sufficient to defray the expense of building the new house, to pay the pew holders in the old house, and leave a surplus of about \$2,500.

During the building of this house, the workmen refrained entirely from the use of ardent spirits.

The first house of worship in this town was erected in 1648; it stood lower down in the town square than the site of the present house, and was furnished with a bell. In 1683, another was built on the same spot, 45 feet by 40, and 18 feet in the walls unceiled, gothic roof, *diamond glass*, with a small cupola and bell. In 1744, a third church was erected on this consecrated ground; the raising commenced on the 17th of July, and on the 29th of the same month it was opened for public worship. The dimensions were about 72 by 64 feet, and the spire was 100 feet high, surmounted with a handsome brass weathercock. In the same year a seceding society erected a meeting-house in Middle street; this was the effect of great zeal in *new light times*, and there was no other secession during the remainder of the last century. Since the commencement of the present century, eight houses for public worship have been erected here, either by new societies or by rebuilding.

The ancient church stands at the present time on a firm basis, and is in prosperity, worshipping the God of our fathers, rejecting some of their dogmas, but cherishing the same essential principles of christian faith and practice, and acquiescing to the fullest extent in the free enjoyment of each individual in the mode of worship which conscience may dictate.

In the year 1819, Dr. Francis Le Baron, then in public ser-

vice at New York, presented an elegant set of *desk bibles* for the use and benefit of the first church and society in Plymouth, as a testimony of his respect and regard for the *society*, with which his ancestors had been connected, and the church where he received christian baptism.

In 1822, Hon. Judge Davis, having had the loan of the church records for the purpose of compiling a new edition of Morton's New England Memorial, with considerable additions, and having for that purpose extracted several pages from said records, proposed to vest the copy-right of this new edition of the Memorial in the first church and society of Plymouth, the profits to be applied to the relief of the poor. But subsequently, he proposed that the copy-right should be transferred to the Pilgrim Society, on the condition that the said society deliver to the first church one hundred and ten copies of said work for every 3000 copies which they may publish, and in the same proportion for a greater or less number, being in full for a consideration of the transfer.

It is remarkable that the meeting-house, which was built in 1683, was, on the 3d of June, 1715, struck by lightning, and considerably shattered, and on the 22d of November, 1831, the present house, when nearly finished, suffered a similar fate; the north-east pinnacle was entirely destroyed, with some other damage, and the whole edifice narrowly escaped conflagration. Fortunately the building was insured, and the expense of repairs paid by the underwriters. A few years since, a large elm tree, standing within a few yards of the same place, was so much injured by lightning, that it died soon after. These incidents serve to show the expediency of lightning-rods and of insurance.

In closing this history, our spirits are animated with the prospect of amendment in our moral world, and in our day. The unrighteous spirit of intolerance and persecution binding down the human mind by bonds of religious faith, is evidently on the wane. We have a cheering hope that our moral feelings will no longer be disturbed by the practice of aspersing the characters of pious and exemplary men on the grounds of difference of opinion in mysterious points of doctrine. This uncharitable temper has too long been a scourge to society, and we can have no sympathy with proceedings so manifestly inconsistent with the christian character. By indulgence these guilty passions gain strength, harden the heart of man, and lead to licentiousness. But we rejoice that the day has arrived when every citizen may think as he pleases upon subjects of religion, and quietly offer his devotions in whatever temple, and whatever form *his own judgment and conscience may prescribe for him.*

A learned and candid spirited clergyman, having perused the foregoing church history, offers the following as a closing paragraph:—

In reading over the foregoing pages, the writer would unite with his candid readers in a grateful acknowledgment of the rich mercies of the God of Heaven to this most ancient church of the United States. The band of Pilgrims, who stepped upon this inhospitable shore 212 years ago, with no support but the Almighty arm, so often made bare for their protection, have now become a great people. And we trust they are destined by Divine Providence, as they have hitherto done, still to perform an important part in forming the character of the American church, and the American empire.

N. B.—Church and Parish are two distinct bodies ; the church is a religious body, and the parish is a civil body. The civil law has no control over a church, as such. A church is a religious society altogether independent, and governed by the principles of the religion which its members profess. A congregational church, according to the definition given in what has been called the New England Platform, 'is by the institution of Christ, a part of the militant visible church, consisting of a company united in one body by an holy covenant, for the public worship of the Lord Jesus.' Now a church is without power or authority in temporal matters, of course not amenable to any earthly tribunal. The character of a minister of the gospel, settled according to the common mode in New England, is the pastor of the church and the minister of the parish. The practice of the country has been for the church to give the minister a call to become their pastor, but no salary is stipulated by them. The relation between the church, as a church, and their minister, has always been considered a spiritual relation only. A church is at liberty, by a vote, to withdraw themselves from their pastor, if a part only, those who are in the minority and in his favor, will still be his church. Those who withdraw themselves are no longer of the church. Should the whole withdraw, he is still the minister of the parish and entitled to his salary, provided his misconduct do not forfeit it. By the old State laws, the church members had the sole right of electing the minister of the parish; and when a majority of those members had agreed on the man, although the parish were to a man against him; yet the advice of five neighboring churches being had, the man was settled, became the minister of the parish and the court of sessions had a right to assess the inhabitants for his support. The law which authorised this piece of religious tyranny was the never failing source of dissention and division, and finally compelled the government to pass sundry

acts of toleration for the relief of the people. If the church do not agree that the teacher chosen by the parish, in which they are inhabitants, shall be their pastor, they may choose another; but they cannot expect the parish to maintain him. The first principle in a civil corporation is, that a majority shall govern, and it is the duty of the religious body to acquiesce. A law under the old constitution, gave the church a power, (five churches advising thereto,) to settle the minister within the voice of the parish: and, by the same act, if there were 300 voters in the parish, and the church consisted of 20 members, the town could have a minister, if ten of the 20 were against it. But now the town, as a town, have the vote to themselves. When a minister is settled, the church, as a church, have no right to dispose of the money of the parish."

The following are the names of Deacons of the church in Plymouth.

John Carver,	}	chosen in Leyden, 1620.
Samuel Fuller,		
Richard Masterson,	}	to about 1630.
Thomas Blossom,		
John Doane,	}	chosen about 1630.
William Paddy,		
John Cook,	}	
John Dunham,		
Robert Finney,	}	chosen 1667.
Ephraim Morton,		
Thomas Faunce,		1686.
George Morton,	}	1694.
Nathaniel Wood,		
Thomas Clark,	}	1716.
Thomas Foster,		
John Atwood,	}	1727.
Haviland Torrey,		
Thomas Clark,	}	
Thomas Foster,		
Joseph Bartlett,	}	1745.
John Torrey,		
William Crombie,		1776.
Ephraim Spooner,		1784.
Jonathan Diman,		1784.
John Bishop,		1797.
Lemuel Drew,		1812.
William P. Ripley,		1818.
Rosseter Cotton,		1822.
Ichabod Morton,		1831.

APPENDIX.



• THE foregoing pages will be found to contain a just display of the character sustained by our puritan fathers, and show that their sacrifices, their disinterested patriotism, their exemplary integrity, and their reverence for a pure religion were without a parallel in the records of history. It was, with them, a primary object to avoid all cause of war with the natives, but they were compelled in their own defence to a cruel warfare with Philip and his allies, and were in imminent danger of a total extermination, within the first half century of their settlement. The natives, from a jealousy of encroachments, became the aggressors by acts of enormities and crimes. The colonists never possessed themselves of the Indian's land, without paying a fair and full price for what they bought. (See page 133.) After the war, the English, it is true, availed themselves of the right of conquest; but lands were allotted to the surviving Indians, who remained in the country, amply sufficient for their support. Should it be inquired, what is the character and prosperity of the descendants of the puritans; it may be replied, that every community having religion and justice for its basis will be prosperous and happy. The state of society in the ancient town is, in common with the whole of the old colony of Plymouth, remarkably peaceable, orderly, and happy. The names of our ancestors are embalmed in our bosoms, and are objects of consecrated memory. Their religious and school institutions are deemed by all good men sufficiently important to be appreciated as their worth and character deserve.

We venerate the memory of the pilgrim fathers for their religion, their patriotism and their institutions. They were, it is true, deeply imbued with the principles of Calvin, and were, in some measure, tinctured with the spirit of bigotry. Liberal christians of the present day have abandoned many tenets, which our fathers conscientiously maintained, and are zealous advocates for the exercise of mutual charity and brotherly love, that heavenly grace that beams from the breast of the father of mercies, and which gives joy to good men and to angels.

Few crimes or aggravated violations of law have been known

in our limits. No native white inhabitant of this town has ever suffered death by the hand of the law, nor any one, it is believed, in the Old Colony. Nor has there been any instance of duelling in our territories, since that in 1621, noticed in page thirty-eight. We conjure every citizen to hold to his integrity, and resolve sternly to resist the influence of the emissaries from the old world, who would gladly subvert our free institutions and enthral the minds of the rising generation in the dark clouds of corruption and ignorance.

It has been the anxious desire of all nations in all ages of the world, that genealogies from their original foundations should be correctly recorded, and transmitted to future generations. Posterity love to trace back their progenitors in an un-interrupted line to the earliest periods. In no instance do we recognize a people who have a more peculiar interest in the transactions of their ancestors than the descendants of the puritan fathers of New England; nor are the descendants of any people furnished with more abundant data for the purpose of tracing the founders of a nation. When the Saxons came over and settled in England, the British surnames were emerged, and all record of the original inhabitants by their surnames vanished from the page of history. But in our country the reverse of this is our happy destiny. By far the largest proportion of our surnames are those which were precious to our puritan fathers, and ever will be to their posterity. The spreading branches of the genealogical tree from the stock of the pilgrims will ever command admiration and respect, and it would be exceedingly gratifying could we be able to delineate the descendants through their generations by family genealogies; but although so early as 1646, the court ordered that in each town a clerk should be appointed whose duty it should be to record all marriages, births and deaths, yet no one was appointed in this town till 1679, and the records prior to that time were very imperfect.

The following are the names found among the first comers and early settlers in this town. Those with this * mark died the first winter.

Adams,	Blossom,
Alden,	Bompasse, (Bumpus)
*Allerton,	Carver,
Atherton,	Chauncey,
Atwood,	*Chilton,
Bangs,	*Clarke,
Bassett,	Conor,
Beale,	Cooke,

Beames,	Masterson,
Billington,	*Marton,
Bradford,	Morgan,
Brewster,	Morton,
Briggs,	*Mullins,
Brown,	Deane,
Cooper,	Nelson,
Cotton,	Nicolas, (Nicholas)
Cudworth,	Paddy,
Cushman,	Palmer,
Crackston,	Pitts,
De La Noye, (Delano,)	Paddock,
Doane,	Prence, (Prince)
Dotey, (Doten)	*Priest,
Dunham,	Rayner,
Eaton,	*Rogers,
*English,	Robinson,
Faunce,	Standish,
Fallowell,	Starie, (Stacy)
Flavell,	Sparrow,
*Fletcher,	Smalley,
Foord,	Snow,
Finney,	Southworth,
Fuller,	Samson,
Gardener,	Simonson, (Simmons)
*Goodman,	Steward, (Stewart)
Goram, (Gorham,)	Smith,
Gray,	Shurtleff,
Hanbury,	Sprague,
Harlow,	Soul,
Hatherly,	*Tilley,
Hicks,	Tench,
Hilton,	*Turner,
Hinkley,	*Tinker,
Hopkins,	Thomas,
Howland,	Warren,
Higgins,	Winslow,
Jackson,	Watson,
Jenney,	*White,
Kempton,	Wright,
Knowles,	Willet,
Latham,	*Williams.
*Margeson,	

Free Schools.—Our ancestors were well apprised of the great importance of school establishments for the education of the rising generation. So early as February 11th, 1635, we find among the court orders the following: 'Benjamin Eaton, with his mother's consent, is put to Bridget Fuller, *being to keep him at school two years*, and employ him after in such service as she saw good, and he shall be fit for.' We find no further notice of this subject till June, 1662, when the court recommended to the consideration of the several towns, some preparations for schools; and in 1663, it was enacted by the court, 'That the several townships in the jurisdiction, ought to take into their serious consideration, that there may be a school-master in each town to teach the children in reading and writing.' In 1668, John Morton, who was a nephew of the Secretary, offered to teach children and youth of the town to read and write and cast accounts, on reasonable considerations. In 1670, a grant was made by the government of the colony, 'of all such profits as might or should annually accrue to the colony, from time to time, for fishing with nets or seines at Cape Cod, for mackerel, bass, or herrings, to be improved for and towards a *free school* in some town of this jurisdiction, provided a beginning were made within one year of the grant.' And in August, 1671, John Morton appeared at town-meeting, and renewed his proposal to erect and keep a town school, which was accepted. In the following year, the court declared the school in Plymouth entitled to the profits of the Cape Cod fishery, and appointed Thomas Hinckley, steward of said school, to take charge of its funds. In the same year, 1672, the profits and benefits of the Agawam and Sippican lands were appropriated by the town to the maintenance of the Free School, then began in town, and not to be estranged from that end.' This was the first Free School ordained by law in New England. We are not, however, unmindful of a prior law in the neighboring colony of Massachusetts, in 1647, for a similar purpose. But that law did not in reality ordain Free Schools, but a reasonable tax on the scholars was left to the direction of the towns. Nearly all the schools in that colony in 1671, and much later, were supported in part by such a tax; but there can be no doubt that in Boston a free school actually existed before this period, or perhaps one or two elsewhere in the jurisdiction. Though Mr. Morton's school in Plymouth was strictly entitled by the terms of the colony grant to its benefits, yet, as he only taught 'to read and write, and cast accounts,' it failed, perhaps, under his instruction, to meet the expectations of the country. In the year last mentioned, 1672, a Mr. Corlet, a graduate of Cambridge, was the instruc-

tor. It would seem that the higher standard of school learning, under Mr. Corlet, did not please the town much better than the plain education by Mr. Morton, had satisfied the government. Two years after, viz., in 1674, the town, as if apprehensive that the Latin and Greek were encroaching on the more useful departments after limiting the grant, which it had made of the Agawam and Sippican lands, to such only as had purchased of the Indians previous thereto, entered these directions, 'that their children be instructed in reading, when they are entered, in the Bible: and also that they be taught to write and cypher, beside that which the country, (that is, the colonial government) expects from said school.' Notice is again taken of the Free School, by the general court in 1675, and the Cape Fishery money appropriated to it. The profits of this fishery amounted to from 30 to 40 pounds per ann. In 1677, notwithstanding the distressing war with King Philip, the court ordered that, 'In whatever township in this government, consisting of 50 families or upwards, any meet man shall be obtained to teach a grammar school, such township shall allow at least twelve pounds, to be raised by rate on all the inhabitants of said town: and those that have the more immediate benefit thereof, with what others shall voluntarily give, shall make up the residue necessary to maintain the same, and that the profits arising from the Cape Fishery, heretofore ordered to maintain a grammar school in this colony, be distributed to such towns as have such grammar schools, not exceeding five pounds per ann. to any town. And further this court orders, that every such town as consists of seventy families and upwards, and hath not a grammar school therein, shall allow and pay unto the next town that hath a grammar school, the sum of five pounds to be levied on the inhabitants by rate, and gathered by the constables of such towns, by warrant from any magistrate of this jurisdiction.'

In 1669, it was ordered that the selectmen procure a school master for the town, and settle him as near the centre as may be convenient, and that every scholar who comes to write or cypher or to learn Latin, shall pay three pence per week; if to read only, then to pay three half pence per week, and what remains due to the school to be levied by rate on the inhabitants. 1703, at town meeting it was voted, that there shall be a grammar school master provided for the use of the town, and that there shall be a rate on the inhabitants to defray the charges thereof. In September, 1705, the town voted to pay £30 per year for a school master for the term of seven years, provided that said schoolmaster be settled within 40 rods of the old meeting house, and that the town pay £20 per year during the said

seven years, and all children sent to said school, excepting the children of those who have subscribed for the support of the teacher, that live within one mile of said school, pay four pence a week for instruction in Latin, writing, or cyphering, and two pence a week for reading, and all those that are without the bounds of one mile and within the bounds of two miles to pay two pence per week for Latin, writing, or cyphering, and one penny for reading, excepting the children of such as through poverty are unable to pay, who are to go free, and all fines that are by the law devoted towards the support of a school and the money to be paid per week as above said to be improved toward paying the town's part of the said £20, and the subscribers to have no benefit thereby.

In 1712, September 8, the town voted that for the four years next ensuing, the use or interest of all the money voted by the town for the use of a school forever in said town, for the lands within the mile and half already sold or yet to be sold, shall be, by the town treasurer, yearly paid to Captain James Warren, Mr. Nathaniel Thomas, and Mr. John Murdock, provided they shall keep or cause to be kept, in the middle of said town, in the school-house, a good grammar school, according to law for the said four years, voted also to pay or cause to be paid yearly, during the said four years, ten pounds per annum unto said Warren, Thomas, and Murdock, to be raised by rate on said inhabitants, and all fines which by law shall belong to said school within four years, shall be paid to said Warren, Thomas and Murdock; and it was also voted that during the said four years the school grant to be paid to the persons above named according to the vote, September 17th, 1705, and the said three persons, empowered by the town to collect and gather the same and to have the benefit of it.

1714.—It was voted to allow £20 to the north end and £20 to the south end of the town to build school houses.

1716.—It was voted at town meeting on the 22d of October, that there shall be three free schools set up in the town, one at each end to teach reading and writing, and one in the middle of the town to be a grammar school, and that there be a committee chosen to provide suitable persons to keep the said schools, and the interest of the money, of what lands are sold within the mile and half, to go towards the support of the schools and the town will make up the deficiency, and the school to be continued five years. The committee was composed of Major Bradford, Isaac Lothrop, Captain Benjamin Warren, and Mr. Abiel Shurtleff. 1724.—At town meeting February 15, there was a long and warm debate whether one school or three

should be maintained in town, such was the confusion and tumult that the vote could not be determined by holding up hands, and it was agreed that the voters should retire from the house and then pass singly by the clerk and declare their vote; there was a majority for one school, but it was found advisable to adjourn the meeting. At the adjournment it was voted that the grammar school in which is also taught writing, reading and arithmetic, be kept in the centre of the town near the meeting house, and that the ends of the town be allowed womens' schools or any other, so far as their proportion of taxes will go. This dissention respecting the location of schools facilitated the separation of Jones's River parish from Plymouth, and its incorporation into a town called Kingston.

1746.—The town voted that two more schools should be established in town, one on the training green, and one at Eel river, for the benefit of the inhabitants there, and at Monument Ponds, and committees were chosen to make the necessary arrangements, and to supply the schools with able teachers, and to erect a new school house on the training green.

The great importance of free schools has been fully appreciated by the present generation, who have been as well disposed as their progenitors, and better able to promote them, and the school has been kept under a regular succession of grammar masters to the present day.

In 1803, 1220 dollars were voted for all the schools in town and in 1830 and for several preceding years \$2625 have been appropriated to their support, and in 1832, \$3525. There are fifteen districts among which the sum of two thousand dollars is annually distributed, according to the number of children in each between the ages of six and sixteen; which number in the whole, by a census taken in 1829, amounted to 1028. The salary for our grammar school master is \$600 per ann.

In 1795, a school for girls was instituted by the town, to be kept in the summer months, at intervals of the town schools. The central school district was separated in 1826, at which time the town, or high school, as it has been since denominated, was placed on an improved footing, and a quarterly examination had for admission to it from all the districts.

The first school house was built by subscription in 1705, and stood a little south of the meeting house of the first parish; in the next year however, it was purchased by the town. The present school house on the northerly side of the meeting house was built in 1765.

Our Sunday school first commenced in the third parish in the year 1818. In the first parish the school was established in

1827. The number of children who have been members of the school belonging to the first parish has been from one hundred and sixty to two hundred. Great praise is due to our sabbath school teachers for their zeal and faithfulness in imparting christian knowledge to our youth. The whole number of attendants during 1831, was about four hundred, males and females. It is indeed to be desired that all our youth may enjoy the benefit of this inestimable institution that their earliest impression may be the nature of the gospel, and the moral and religious duties which it enjoins.

The following is a list of those born in Plymouth, who were graduates at our Colleges. Those marked thus * are deceased, those in italics have been ordained to the work of the ministry.

- 1642 **Nathaniel Brewster*,
- 1650 *Isaac Allerton,
- 1661 **Nathaniel Chauncy*, } Twin sons of Rev. Dr. Chauncy.
- **Elnathan Chauncy*, }
- 1663 **John Rayner*,
- 1685 **Roland Cotton*,
- 1698 **Josiah Cotton*,
- 1701 **Theophilus Cotton*,
- 1707 **William Shurtleff*,
- 1726 *Isaac Lothrop,
- 1730 **John Cotton*,
- 1735 *John Watson,
- 1745 *James Warren,
- 1745 *Thomas Foster,
- 1751 *William Watson,
- 1753 *Pelham Winslow,
- 1756 *Bartlett Le Baron,
- 1756 *Nathaniel Lothrop,
- 1759 **Abiel Leonard*, S. T. D. Nassau Hall.
- 1765 *Edward Winslow,
- 1766 *John Watson,
- 1768 *Thomas Leonard,
- 1771 Perez Morton,
- 1771 *Jacob Bacon,
- 1772 *Joshua Thomas,
- 1776 *James Warren,
- 1781 John Davis, LL. D. Dartmouth.
- 1782 *Chandler Robbins,
- 1782 *Joseph Bartlett,
- 1782 *Charles Warren,
- 1783 Barnabas Hedge,

- 1783 William Jackson,
- 1789 Zaccheus Bartlett,
- 1790 *Joseph Warren,
- 1793 Ward Cotton,
- 1796 *Wendell Davis,
- 1798 Andrew Croswell,
- 1798 *Samuel Prince Robbins,
- 1799 Abner Bartlett,
- 1802 *Caleb Holmes,
- 1804 Nathaniel Morton Davis,
- 1806 John Boies Thomas,
- 1807 *Ezra Shuw Goodwin,
- 1807 William Thomas,
- 1808 Charles Cotton,
- 1808 *John Torrey,
- 1810 *John Watson Davis,
- 1810 John Cotton,
- 1810 Rufus Bacon,
- 1813 Winslow Warren,
- 1814 *Isaac Eames Cobb,
- 1815 Pelham Winslow Warren,
- 1817 Charles Henry Warren,
- 1818 Sidney Bartlett,
- 1820 Isaac Lothrop Hedge,
- 1820 Nathaniel Russell,
- 1823 James Augustus Kendall,
- 1826 Hersey Bradford Goodwin,
- 1827 George Bartlett,
- 1827 Andrew Leach Russell,
- 1831 *Francis James Russell,
- 1832 Le Baron Russell,
- 1833 Winslow Marston Watson.

The following persons born at Plymouth graduated at Yale College.

- 1768 Lemuel Le Baron,
- 1826 William Harlow.

At Amherst College.

- 1830 Samuel S. Clark,
- 1832 Isaac Wetherell.

Physicians in Plymouth from 1620.

Those with this mark * died in Plymouth.

*Samuel Fuller, from 1620 to 1633.

Mathew Fuller, from 1640 to 1652, died at Barnstable.

- *Francis Le Baron, from 1693 to 1704.
- *Thomas Little, from 1700 to 1712.
- *Lazarus Le Baron, from 1720 to 1773.
- *Joseph Le Baron, to 1761.
- *Lazarus Le Baron, Jr. to 1784.
- *William Thomas, 1802.
- *Nathaniel Lothrop, M. D. 1828.
- *Stephen Marcy.
- *Isaac Barrows.
- *Caleb Boutell, M. D., M. M. S. Soc. 1819.
- Andrew Mackie, M. D., M. M. S. Soc. removed.

Living in Plymouth at present.

James Thacher, M. D., M. M. S. Soc. relinquished practice.
 Rossetter Cotton, relinquished practice.
 Nathan Hayward, M. D., M. M. S. Soc.
 Zaccheus Bartlett.
 Winslow Warren, M. D., M. M. S. Soc.
 Charles Cotton, M. D.
 Robert Capen.
 Hervey N. Preston, M. D., M. M. S. Soc.

Lawyers in Plymouth.

*Nathaniel Clark,	*Zabdiel Samson,
*James Hovey,	Nathaniel M. Davis,
James Otis, a short time,	John B. Thomas,
Pelham Winslow,	William Thomas,
*Joshua Thomas,	John Thomas,
John Davis,	Jacob H. Loud,
*John D. Dunbar,	Gustavus Gilbert.

Topography and Statistics.

Census of the town at different periods:

1764.—Dwelling houses, 256. Families 373.
 Persons including 77 negroes, and 48 Indians, 2246.
 In 1776, Whites only, 2655.
 In 1783, including 35 negroes, 2380, number reduced by the war.

According to the U. S. census the number of the inhabitants of Plymouth—was

In	1791	-	-	-	-	2995.
"	1800	-	-	-	-	3524.
"	1810	-	-	-	-	4228.
"	1820	-	-	-	-	4384.
"	1830	-	-	-	-	4751.

Increase last ten years, 367, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

In 1834, probable number, 5000.

Number of dwelling houses in 1815, 409.

Number in 1834, 570.

Number of shops for retail of English and West India Goods, 40.

Number of rateable polls in 1831, 1091.

The annual sum appropriated for town expenses is from \$8000 to \$10,000 besides labor on the roads.

The central part of the town is compactly built, and house lots have doubled in price within a few years, and, for the space of half a mile north and south from the town square, very few building lots are unoccupied. Not a dwelling house of ancient date or antique form now remains in town. Those recently erected are in the style of modern architecture, and in this respect our improvements have been increasing of late years more rapidly than ever before. The largest proportion of our buildings are painted of a light color, and being furnished with Venitian blinds, exhibit an air of neatness and elegance. Numerous strangers attracted by the antiquity of the place and relics of the Pilgrims, take pleasure in visiting us in the summer season, and never depart without the pleasing impression that our village will compare with any in New England, and that the rock which received the first tread, and the hill which enshrines the ashes of our pilgrim fathers should always receive the sacred homage of their posterity; and what is to our honor strangers uniformly express themselves gratified with the marked attention and hospitality which they receive from our inhabitants. The congregational meeting house erected by the first parish in 1831, is on the plan of European architecture, and is the most magnificent edifice in the old colony of Plymouth. The County Court House in our Court square was erected in 1820. It is allowed to be an elegant edifice of brick, and in point of symmetry and just proportion, is in perfect keeping with the best models of modern architecture. On the lower floor is an apartment for each of the offices of clerk of the courts, the register of deeds and of probate, and also a jury room. Above, there is an elegant court-chamber, a jury-room, a law library apartment, and two jury-rooms behind the gallery.

The jail was also erected in 1820. It is of unwrought stone, except the front which is wrought, and is in all respects adapted to the purpose for which it was designed. The house for the jail-keeper is of wood, and is a handsome and commodious building. The old court house standing in the town square was purchased by the town and converted into a town house.

and we have two handsome school houses in the central district. Our other public buildings are eight houses for Divine worship, (including the one above mentioned) where 30 years ago two were found sufficient. The busy workings of sectarianism have created a singular passion for multiplying meeting houses, as though religion requires one for every chapter in the bible, and our religious societies are so minutely divided that our ministers receive but a slender support.*

Monumental Edifice or Pilgrim Hall.—For a particular description of this edifice the reader is referred to page 244. For the want of funds the front has not hitherto been adorned with the Doric portico, according to the original design. It is highly gratifying that the sum required, in addition to the late Dr. Lothrop's donation, for that very desirable purpose, has recently been obtained by subscription, and a handsome portico, was in 1834, erected, 8 feet wide in front, and supported by six pillars of wood 16 feet high. The whole building has been repaired and the hall finished in handsome style.

The following *streets* and *squares* received their designations in 1823.

Leyden Street, is that which was laid out in 1620, being the first street ever opened in Plymouth. It extends from the town square to Water street.

Market Street, commences at the town house on the westerly side, and Bramhall's corner, so termed, on the east side, and extends south only to the stone arch bridge.

Summer Street, extends south westerly from Market street, to the fork of roads beyond the rolling mill.

Spring Street, is in the avenue extending northerly from Summer street to the Burial Hill. It was called *Spring Lane* by the first planters, as it led from their Fort Hill to a well known spring near the upper corn mill.

High Street extends southwesterly from Market street, over rising ground, crossing Spring street, to Tribble's corner on the east side, and Bartlett's corner on the west side.

Pleasant Street extends from the stone arch bridge, over the hill known by the name of Watson's Hill, to the training Green.

Ring's Lane is the avenue anciently known by that name

* 'There is no making christians of sectarians. You may make a thousand sectarians sooner than one christian. You may make proselytes, and convert to and from every sect in existence, you will not bring your converts one step nearer to the religion whose doctrine is love, for exclusion is in their mouths and supremacy in their hearts, and these are the essence of sectarianism, call it by what denomination you will.'

leading from Summer street, and crossing Little Brook to the termination of High street.

Mill Lane is the avenue from the lower corn mill to Summer street.

Sandwich Street is the ancient street on the south side of the town brook, extending southwesterly from the stone arch bridge by Training Green to Wellingsly brook. This is the post road to Cape Cod.

North Street begins at Warren's corner on the south side, and Dr. Cotton's corner on the north side, and ends at Water street.

Water Street commences at the termination of North street, and extends southerly by the head of the wharves, across the lower bridge, and ends at its junction with Sandwich street.

Middle Street, formerly known by the title of King's street, leads from Main street to Cole's Hill.

Main Street begins at Hedge's corner on the east side, and at Wethrell's corner on the west side, and extends north-north-west by the head of North street to Cotton's corner.

Court Street begins at Cotton's corner and extends north westerly to Wood's lane. The elm trees on the west side of this street were planted in 1830.

School Street is the avenue which extends northerly from the first meeting-house, by the head of the gardens, to the new Court-house.

North Alley extends northerly from Middle street to North street.

South Alley is the opposite alley leading from Middle street to Leyden street.

A new street was laid out in 1834, beginning at the house of Mrs. Nicolson, and running by the north side of the Court-house, south-westerly, till it enters Summer street. On the north side of this street, on elevated ground, is a dwelling house erected the same year by Mr. Charles Sever, lately deceased, being the first house erected on that street.

Training Green is a handsome square on the south side of the town brook, laid out many years since by the town in perpetuity for the convenience of training companies.

Town Square is a handsome public square at the head of Leyden street, directly in front of the meeting-house of the first parish, having the old court-house, (now town-house,) on the south, and the dwelling house and garden of Mr. Brigham Russell, formerly owned and occupied by Capt. Thomas Davis, deceased, on the north side. This square has a gradual descent into Leyden street, and unites with Water street, near the spot where the pilgrims spent the first winter. The square is orna-

mented by six majestic elm trees, the planting of which the author witnessed in 1784, being brought from Portsmouth, by Capt. Thomas Davis. The largest in 1834, measured in circumference nine feet, averaging about two inches annual growth since first planted.

Court Square, formerly called Training Green, is in front of the new court-house, and Mrs. Nicolson's boarding house. The elm trees in that square were planted in May, 1832.

Agriculture.—In the general view the land in this town is hilly, barren, and sandy; but a border of considerable extent on the sea-board having been well cultivated, consists of a rich, loamy soil, capable of yielding any agricultural production. The art of agriculture, however, has never been an object of study and consideration by the inhabitants of the town,—the pursuits of commerce and navigation being more congenial to their habits and taste than the labors of husbandry, especially on a soil not sufficiently fertile to encourage their efforts. There are, nevertheless, locations near the shore, where we have seen fields of Indian corn, potatoes, rye, wheat, clover, and other cultivated grass, which would bear a comparison with the best farms in any part of the Old Colony. Instances have occurred of the produce of four tons of English hay per acre, and some of our fields have yielded summer wheat of excellent quality, at the rate of more than thirty bushels per acre; and a premium was awarded to one of our industrious farmers for the production of forty-three bushels of rye on one acre and seven rods. But these instances are stated as the maximum, and not the average. Our meadows generally will average from one and a half to two tons, and our corn land about twenty to thirty bushels per acre. The principal part of the corn and rye, and all the flour consumed in town, are imported from the Southern States, or from Boston. A considerable number of sheep are grazed in the woods and on the commons in summer, without expense to the owners. Orchards have not generally flourished to much advantage in this town. Although the trees are remarkable for rapid growth and healthy aspect, it is seldom that they yield a corresponding abundance of fruit. The peach tree has so uniformly disappointed our expectations, that it would appear that our climate is uncongenial to its nature. Our gardens in general are sufficiently productive for all the purposes of culinary and domestic consumption, and some there are which exhibit the skill of the botanist and horticulturist. The vine has been recently introduced into our gardens, and there is no reason to doubt but that those who are disposed to bestow the requisite care and attention on its culture, will be

able to furnish their tables with the luxurious fruit in sufficient plenty, though it is not to be expected or desired that the wine press will ever be in requisition among us.

The ancient Warren farm, situated at Eel river, three miles south of our village, has been, from the first settlement, in the possession of the Warren family, having descended from Richard Warren, who came over in the Mayflower in 1620. This very valuable tract, consisting of about four hundred acres, has, for a long time, suffered deterioration from wrong management and neglect. It is now in possession of John Thomas, Esq., who has commenced its renovation. This gentleman, having acquired a knowledge, both theoretical and practical, of the modern mode of culture, has, with commendable enterprise and industry, applied himself for two years past to improvement, in conformity with it. He has procured a stock of short-horned cattle, and is extending their breed. The sea shore furnishes rock-weed and kelp in abundance for compost manure, and he has greatly enriched the meadow land, and prepared fifty acres for mowing next season. The contiguity of this farm to the sea shore greatly enhances its value.

There is another valuable farm, near the northern limits of the town, which, in 1665, was the seat of Governor Prince. This farm is bounded on its whole length by the sea bank, and consists of a variety of soils. It is now in the possession of Isaac L. Hedge, Esq., who, duly appreciating the value of a long neglected farm, is now engaged in meliorating its condition, in all respects according to modern improvements. He has, at great expense, erected a large convenient farm-house and out building, and stocked the place with English short-horn cattle. His barn and yard for swine are on a plan admirably adapted for the making compost manure, and the adjacent shore furnishes abundant materials for the purpose. There is in the centre of the farm an immense mass of clay for the manufacture of brick, which is conducted on a large scale. There is a beautiful brook passing through the farm and emptying into the sea. A considerable number of acres had never received the plough till the last summer, and the soil is excellent. Mr. Hedge has paid great attention to fruit trees and gardening, and he, with Mr. Thomas, is presenting excellent examples for imitation.

Below Plymouth town, bordering on Sandwich and Wareham, is a district of country, nearly twenty miles square, that is chiefly covered with wood, for the growth of which it is more valuable than for any other purpose. This place has always been well stocked with deer, but they are thinned off annually by the

hunters. In January, 1831, a heavy snow, laying about three feet deep, so impeded their motions as to prove fatal to a large proportion of the stock. A number of people provided themselves with snow-shoes, and pursued these beautiful animals, killing and capturing not less than two hundred. About forty were taken alive.

The pine commons of Wareham, Sandwich, and Plymouth, have ever been the favorite haunt of the fallow deer, where this timid animal finds some sequestered dells, some secret recesses; a covert from his enemy, man, where

‘He bursts the thicket, glances through glade,
And plunges deep into the wildest woods.’

About the year 1730, John Rider, of Plymouth, killed three deer at a shot. It was in the summer season, in a rye field; tradition designates the place on the South Pond road. It was out of season by law to kill deer. The superior court, then in session, excused the man on the spot, it being in protection of his standing grain. This anecdote was related in England, by General John Winslow, in very high circles. It excited the smile of incredulity in that country, yet no event is more true.

Tradition gives another instance equally extraordinary. A sachem named Samson, a mighty hunter in days of yore, seeing a number of deer drinking at a brook, killed so many at a shot, (too many it is said to be stated,) as acquired for him immortal fame among the huntsmen of the forest.

The valuation in 1831 gives to Plymouth, woodland 11,662; unimproved, 19,463; unimprovable, 734 acres.

Commerce and Navigation of Plymouth, past and present.

In 1670, a valuation states the fish boats thus:

Four at £25	-	-	-	£100
Two at 18	-	-	-	36
One at 12	-	-	-	12
				£148

Three of these were owned by Edward Gray, a respectable merchant.

From this period to 1770, the fisheries were gradually increasing, and in 1774, seventy-five fishing vessels, of about 45 to 50 tons, navigated by seven or eight men each, were employed in this town. Merchant vessels from 1755, to 1770, or 1774, in the Liverpool trade:

Brigs	1	-	-	-	Tons	130
	1	-	-	-		160
	1	-	-	-		180

 470

One schooner, owned by Samuel A. Otis, Esq., of Boston, made her outfits at Plymouth, for her voyages to Liverpool. Outward cargoes, liver oil, lumber, potash, then made at Middleborough. Return cargoes, salt, crates, freight for Boston. There may have been about twenty other vessels in the merchant service, whose outward cargoes were fish to Jamaica, some to the Mediterranean, and to the French Islands, Martinico and Guaddloupe.

During the Revolutionary War, this commerce and these few vessels were chiefly annihilated, and at the peace of 1783, a few schooners only remained, but fishing vessels immediately increased in size and aggregate tonnage.

Previous to the Revolution there was a considerable trade to Georgetown, South Carolina, and to Charleston. In the winter many vessels which had been employed in fishing during the summer, took cargoes to North Carolina and Virginia, and returned in March with Indian corn, bacon, and live hogs, and this domestic trade still continued.

'Previous to the last war with England, say from about 1808 to 1811, the commerce of the United States had attained to a state of great prosperity, and its government and people reposed in security upon the advantages which had resulted from a neutral position.' Ship-building was constantly increasing, and large ships were in great demand for voyages of neutral freight. But the destructive embargo in 1808, and the war with Great Britain which followed, annihilated commerce, and blasted the fairest prospects and calculations of merchants. Several valuable vessels belonging to this town were captured, others were perishing at the wharves, and our mechanics and seamen reduced to a mortifying state of idleness. *

The commerce of Plymouth, including Duxbury and Kingstons, may be estimated from the following abstract of duties:

Years.	Duties.	Years.	Duties.
1801	\$21,754	1806	\$98,224
1802	19,223	1807	62,592
1803	30,305	1808	21,994
1804	34,417	1809	32,575
1805	63,411	1810	29,224

* It has been stated that we had in foreign trade, in 1811 and 1812, 17 ships, 16 brigs, 40 schooners. Of these were taken before September, 1812, 1 ship, 1 brig, 4 schooners.

Duties paid by merchants and others in the town of Plymouth, on importation at the port of Plymouth:

Years.	Duties.	Years.	Duties.
1813	\$1,751	1822	\$16,887
1814	,428	1823	12,706
1815	6,056	1824	5,053
1816	16,076	1825	8,151
1817	12,446	1826	4,842
1818	13,224	1827	13,119
1819	11,221	1828	25,732
1820	15,284	1829	31,237
1821	16,677	1830	8,383
		1831	7,500 estimated.

Enrolled tonnage belonging to the town of Plymouth, employed in the coasting trade and fisheries, 3,949 $\frac{3}{4}$ tons.

Registered tonnage belonging to the town of Plymouth, 5,070 $\frac{3}{4}$ tons, including 1,170 $\frac{3}{4}$ tons occupied in the whale fishery.

The following is the statement of the Cod and Mackerel fishery for the summer of 1831.

Schooners in the Cod fishery 32, averaging 61 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons, employing eight men each, and landing 19,165 quintals of fish.

The number of barrels of Mackerel inspected this season is 2183.

To the inhabitants of the town the Cod fishery is an object of primary importance. To some it has been a source of wealth, and to multitudes of a comfortable, cheerful living.

The fishermen, in general, are respectable for good morals, correct habits, and civil deportment. The idea prevails with some of them that fishing employment is less honorable than foreign voyages; but let them consider that all honest enterprise and industry is honorable, and that fishing voyages are less liable to sickness, and less exposed to dangers and vicious example; and, moreover, that the employment prepares them for services in the navy, where they may have the honor of fighting the battles of their country. It is much to the credit of our fishermen that when on the banks they carefully abstain from fishing on Sundays.

Those vessels that are employed in the straits of Belle-isle fishery carry whale-boats, in which the fish are taken and kept through the summer.

To fit a vessel of seventy tons, carrying eight men, for a fishing voyage of four months, it requires about one hundred hogsheads, or eight hundred bushels of salt; that from the late

of May is preferred; about twenty barrels of clam bait, thirty-five or forty barrels of water, twenty pounds of candles, two gallons of sperm oil; these articles are in the fisherman's phrase called great generals, and are paid for from the proceeds before any division of the profits is made. The stone ballast, and a suit of clothes for the men who salt the fish, are also included in the great generals. After these articles are paid for, and the fish sold, the profits are divided in the proportion of three eighths to the owners, and five eighths to the crew. If the crew furnish their own provisions, each man carries from thirty to fifty pounds of ship bread, from three to six gallons of molasses, from fourteen to twenty-eight pounds of flour, some butter, lard, and vinegar, formerly two to six gallons of rum. At the present time, some vessels go entirely without ardent spirits. Each man carries six codlines, thirty fathoms long, four lead weights of five pounds each, two dozen codhooks, one pair of large boots reaching above the knees, and a piece of leather or oil-cloth to defend his breast from the wet. A few other articles, called small generals, are paid for equally by each man, as two cords of wood, a barrel of beef, one bushel of beans, twenty bushels of potatoes, three bushels of Indian or rye meal. It is customary for the owners to put on board two or more spare anchors and forty fathoms of cable.

The fish are brought home in the salt, and after being washed are spread on flakes to dry.

Dun-fish are of a superior quality for the table, and are cured in such a manner as to give them a dun or brownish color. Fish for dunning are caught early in spring, and sometimes in February, at the Isle of Shoals. They are taken in deep water, split and slack salted, then laid in a pile for two or three months in a dark store, covered for the greatest part of the time with salt-bay, or eel-grass, and pressed with some weight. In April or May, they are opened and piled again as close as possible in the same dark store till July or August, when they are fit for use.

The amount of fish bounty paid to this town by the general government for the year 1831 is \$17,501 47.

Whale Fishery. There were a number of schooners and sloops employed in the whale fishery in this town previous to and immediately succeeding the war of the revolution; but there are now no vessels of that class so employed. In the year 1821, a number of citizens associated themselves together and built a ship of three hundred and fifty tons for the purpose of fitting her for the Pacific ocean whaling, which they named the *Mayflower*, in honor of the ship that brought our forefathers

here in 1620. The ship sailed in September, 1821, and after making three successful voyages, and landing rising six thousand barrels of oil, a part of the owners sold to some gentlemen of New Bedford, where she was transferred in 1831, and repaired, and sailed from that place in April, 1831; a part is still owned in this place. In 1821 another company was formed, consisting principally of the same persons that built the *Mayflower*, and built another ship which they called the *Fortune*, in memory of the second ship that came into these waters. This ship is of two hundred and eighty tons burthen, and has made three voyages, and landed about fifty-seven hundred barrels of oil, and is now on her fourth voyage. In 1830, the ship *Arbella*, of four hundred and four tons, and navigated by thirty-five men, was sent out, and in 1831 the ship *Levant*, of three hundred and eighty-five tons, navigated also by thirty-five men, sailed for the Pacific Ocean in pursuit of sperm whales. The two last named ships are of the largest class, and fitted out in a thorough manner; and it is hoped they may meet with success to induce others of our fellow citizens to embark in this enterprise, which has brought wealth and prosperity to other towns, and is believed can be carried on here to as good advantage as from most other places. The three ships now employed in the whale fishery amount in the aggregate to 1060 tons, navigated by ninety-two officers and seamen; the produce of this fishery may be estimated at about two thousand barrels of sperm oil annually. Connected with this establishment are the manufacture of about three thousand oil casks, and about fifteen hundred boxes, or of forty-five hundred pounds of sperm candles annually. A fourth ship has this year (1833) been fitted out.

There are six sloops of about sixty tons each constantly employed in coasting between this place and Boston. They average about one trip a week in the summer season, and are usually from eight to sixteen hours in performing a passage. The distance being about fifty-five miles. A large part of their cargoes consists of the raw materials for the cotton, woollen, iron and cordage manufactories, as well as all kinds of goods and groceries for our stores and shops, and they carry back the various kinds of manufactures which are produced here. There are also two schooners, of about ninety tons each, employed in carrying to and from Nantucket, New Bedford, and New York, articles connected with our manufacturing establishments. There are also three vessels employed in bringing lumber from the State of Maine. An attempt was made in the years 1828 and 9, to run a steamboat between this place and Boston, but

it proved to be a losing concern, which was much regretted, as it was found to afford a mode of conveyance of great convenience to the inhabitants.

Wharves. In 1695, we find the first mention of a wharf on our records. John Richard had liberty from the town to erect a wharf against his own warehouse leaving sufficient room for carts to pass along the shore. In 1698, the town granted to James Warren 30 feet square of land for a wharf, and to Abiel Shurtleff a lot of the same dimensions below Cole's hill for building a wharf, leaving a cart-way between the bank and said land. August 28, 1727, a committee was chosen by the town to hear what those persons have to offer, that purpose to build a wharf at the lower end of the new street, but no further proceedings on the subject are recorded. In 1734, the town sold several wharf lots extending from the top of Cole's hill into the bay reserving a street 30 feet wide to run parallel with the shore. These lots were laid out 30 feet in width, and a piece of land was reserved below the street for a landing place for vessels, to remain open for a common dock for the town's use forever. This dock lies at the bottom of north street, between the long wharf and Mr. Hedge's store. The first lot was sold to Isaac Lothrop, Esq. for 5 pounds and is adjoining the town dock; each purchaser of these lots were required to support the bank at the foot of Cole's hill. Other purchasers were Thomas Foster, Quintin Crymble, James Warren, John Murdock, Samuel Kempton, Josiah Finney, William Harlow. The lot called the shop lot, being the lot on which the shop of Dr. Francis Le Baron, deceased, then stood, was sold to Samuel Bartlett and Dr. Lazarus Le Baron. There are now nine wharves near the centre of the town, one of which extends nine hundred feet into the harbor, and is called Long wharf. This was constructed in 1829, and is honorable to the enterprising proprietors. Having a plank flooring it affords a beautiful promenade, which is much frequented in summer by social parties who wish to enjoy a pleasant view and refreshing sea breeze. Besides these, there are three wharves on the south side of the harbor and one connected with the Cordage Factory at the north part of the town. On Water street, and the wharves which run from it, where most of the business connected with navigation is transacted, there are twenty-one stores, sixteen warehouses, and a sufficient number of mechanics and artists of various descriptions. There is an *aqueduct* in the town which supplies most of the families on the north side of the Town brook, at the rate of \$5 annually for a single family, or \$8 for two families in one house. The water is brought in logs from Billing-

ton Sea at the distance of about two miles. We have belonging to the town four fire-engines, well provided with hose and hydraulic pipes, and all the requisite appliances. We have also two large reservoirs connected with the aqueduct, affording an ample supply of water. The whole apparatus, with ladders and hooks are under the direction of men alert, and capable of the most efficient operation on any emergency which may occur.

Ponds, Rivers and Brooks. The number of ponds within the limits of this town is supposed to be more than two hundred.

Billington Sea. This was formerly called *Fresh Lake*. It was discovered about the 1st of January, 1621, by Francis Billington, while mounted on a tree standing on a hill. It was in the midst of a thick forest, and when seen at a distance, Billington supposed it to be another sea. On the 8th of January, he went with one of the master's mates, to view the place. They found two lakes contiguous, separated by a narrow space; the largest is about six miles in circumference, and is the far famed *Billington Sea*. It is about two miles south-west from town, and from it issues the Town brook. In this pond there are two small islands. The largest, containing about two acres, having been planted with apple trees, produces excellent fruit. This pond is well stocked with pickerel and perch. The majestic eagle is frequently seen cowering over this pond, and has for ages built its nest in the branches of the trees, visiting the flats of the harbor at low tide in pursuit of fishes and birds. Loons, and beautiful wood-ducks produce their young in sequestered retreats about this pond, annually.

The fallow deer, tenacious of its ancient place of rendezvous, continue to visit this pond for drink, and to browse on its margin. For many years this beautiful pond was a favorite resort for social parties. A house was erected on the bank, a pleasure boat was in the pond, and tea parties and fishing parties united in the happiest enjoyments.

South Pond is situated four miles from town,—is a beautiful sheet of unruffled water, the bottom of pure white sand, with white and red perch playing in their native element. This pond has now become a place of fashionable resort for parties. There is no natural outlet; but about the year 1701, a water course was cut from it, about half a mile in length, crossing the road and uniting with the head waters of Eel river. This project was executed under the direction of Elder Faunce, with the view of attracting alewives into the pond; but it failed of success.

Murdock's Pond lies about half a mile from our village in the rear of burial hill. It is a deep round pond of about two acres,

where ice is procured for ice-houses; and a small brook issuing from it crosses the west road, and is called Little brook, or Prison brook, which unites with the Town brook.

Half-way Pond. This is ten miles southerly from our village. There is an island in this pond which formerly furnished a large supply of masts, and the road to it is still called the mast road.

White Island Pond lies some distance north-westerly from this; it is large, covering about 600 acres and is on the line which divides Plymouth from Wareham.

Great Herring Pond is about 15 miles from town, on the borders of Sandwich. It is two miles in length, and has an Indian population in its vicinity. Little Herring Pond is connected with it by a brook. The Leech gives name to one pond, though in most of them leeches are taken which answer all the purposes of the true medicinal leech.

Long Pond is two miles long, situated on the ancient path to Sandwich of the first settlers, which is the shortest route by two miles. It is six miles from town, and is famous for large pickerel and perch.

Clam Pudding Pond is seven miles south, on the Sandwich road. It was formerly the resting stage for travellers to and from Cape Cod, and the settlers were in practice of holding annual festivals on Clam Pudding at this pond.

Crane Brook Ponds are the source of a brook passing into Carver south-westerly, on which are valuable furnaces and mills, manufacturing cast iron.

Scook, is the Indian name of a small pond near Manomet point, where are numerous rocks.

Coatuit is the Indian name for Half-way Pond.

Agawam is the name of the brook flowing from Coatuit and passing into the sea at Wareham. It is a valuable stream, on which mills and forges are situated and alewives abound in their season.

Town Brook. This is the outlet from Billington Sea; it passes through town and empties into the harbor a little south of Forefather's Rock. It is of inestimable to the town, being the seat of manufactures of great importance which will be described under the head of manufactures. There is a tannery and two grist-mills on this stream. Before the town sold their privilege to this brook, alewives were so abundant on their way to Billington Sea that more than 800 barrels have been taken in one season. But the passing up of the herrings was for many years a source of much trouble and perplexity by interrupting the operations of the mills and manufacturers, occasioning an entire suspension during several weeks annually, to the

great damage of the proprietors and the town. It was from these considerations that, at a meeting of the inhabitants of the town in 1821, it was voted to convey to the owners of the mills situated on the town brook, all the town's right to the use of the water and the bed of the said brook, including the lower grist-mill, for the term of fifty years, on the condition that the said owners of mills pay to the town \$5000 in ten years with interest annually. According to the arrangement adopted by the town, the interest accruing on the purchase money is to be distributed, one third, or \$100 annually, among such widows of the town as are not supported as paupers, and the remaining part, or \$200, to be distributed annually among the inhabitants of the town paying a poll tax, or poll taxes, in equal proportions as the selectmen of the town for the time being may direct. And when the principal sum of \$5000 shall be paid, the selectmen shall cause the same to be funded in such stock as in their opinion will best secure to the town the interest thereof for said purposes during said term of fifty years.

Eel River. This originates in ponds and springs back of Eel River Village, crosses the post road to Sandwich, and empties into the sea near Warren's farm. It is appropriately called Eel river, from the abundance of eels which it yields to the support of the industrious poor. Perhaps it will not be extravagant to say that about 150 barrels are annually taken there.

Wonkingua River takes its rise in this town, forms the boundary between it and Carver and runs about four miles to Wareham line, below which there are on this stream some of the largest iron works in the county.

Red Brook seeks the sea at Buttermilk Bay, over its small bridge crossed by the road from Sandwich to Wareham.

Willingsly Brook. This is about half a mile from our village, crossing the public road to Sandwich. So early as 1623, this place was recorded by the name of Hobb's Hole, from an inlet or cove under a cliff where small vessels and boats were sheltered from storms. In 1637, we find the name of Willingsly on record for the same place. It is now a location for a cluster of about 24 houses, where there is some excellent land, and flakes for curing fish. Here was the seat of Secretary Morton; in this place he copied the church records, and wrote the Memorial, and volumes of other records.

Double Brook, or Shingle Brook, of the first settlers, runs northerly by the post-road to Sandwich, and unites with Eel river. A forge stands on it near the junction. *Beaver Dam Brook* is in the village of Manomet Ponds, and affords seats for several mills. *Indian Brook* is still further south, near the

shore; it is small, but abounds with trout. There are between this town and the bounds of Kingston, five small brooks or rivulets crossing the road; near the third, reckoning from town, lived Deacon Hurst, who erected the first tannery in Plymouth, about 1640. Near the fourth brook, was the seat of Governor Prince, being a farm given him by the General Court when he removed from Eastham in 1665, and was called *Plain Dealing*. This has since been known by the name of Lothrop's farm, now Hedge's farm. On this brook stands a grist-mill and a valuable cordage manufactory.

Bridges.—There are in the town about 12 bridges. The stone arch bridge was erected over the Town brook in the year 1812, at Spring hill, precisely at the spot where the colonists had their first interview with Massasoit, in 1621. The hill where the sachem with his train of 60 men first appeared, was called Strawberry hill by the first planters, now Watson's hill. There is another bridge of wood over the Town brook at the wharf, which for many years was the principal passage way, and was called the lower road. This bridge is now the property of the town, but is kept in repair by individuals, in consideration of some contiguous land granted to them by the town. Eel river bridge is well known to travellers, though the public road to Sandwich is now more westerly, and passes the cotton factory.

Hills.—*Pinnacle Hill* is in the vicinity of South Pond. *Sentry Hill* and *Indian Hill* are on the sea shore of Manomet. *Gallows Hill* is on the south side of Wood's lane, and is the property of the heirs of Mr. Richard Holmes. *Sparrow's Hill* is two miles westerly, crossing the main road to Carver. *Paukopunnakuk*, or *Break-neck Hill* of the early settlers. This is that remarkable sand hill ten miles on the road to Sandwich, which the first settlers had to pass on foot, when journeying to and from the Cape to attend the courts at Plymouth. The traveller now escapes that wearisome hill by taking the new offset road to the shore, at Mr. Joseph Harlow's house.

There are on the road to Sandwich, in the woods, two rocks called Sacrifice rocks. They are covered with sticks and stones, which have been accumulating for centuries. It was the constant practice among the aborigines, to throw a stone or stick on the rock in passing. The late Rev. Mr. Hawley, who spent many years among the natives at Marshpee, endeavored to learn from them the design of this singular rite, but could only conjecture that it was an acknowledgment of an invisible Being, the unknown God whom this people worshipped. This pile was their altar.

Burying Hill, formerly *Fort Hill*. Immediately in the rear of

the town is a hill, rising one hundred and sixty-five feet above the sea level, embracing about eight acres. On the summit of the south-west side, the pilgrims erected first some temporary defence; but, in 1675, on the approach of Philip's war, they erected a strong fort, one hundred and fifty feet square, strongly palisaded, ten and a half feet high. No other place could have been so well chosen, either for discovering the approach of savages, or for defending the town against their attacks. The settlement was rendered perfectly secure, and springs of water were at their command. The whole circuit of the fort is still distinctly visible; * a watch-house was also built near the fort.

The view presented from this eminence, embracing our harbor and the shores of the bay for miles around, is not, perhaps, inferior to any in our country. Let the antiquarian come at full tide, and when the billows are calmed, and seat himself on this mount, that he may survey the incomparable landscape, and enjoy the interesting associations with which he will be inspired. Immediately beneath the hill lies the town in full view; and beyond this, the harbor and shipping. The harbor is a beautiful expanse of water, bounded on the south by Manomet Point, and near which commences a beach three miles in length, breasting the rolling billows of the bay, and serving as a barrier to the wharves; and on the north-east by a promontory extending from Marshfield, called the Gurnet, on the point of which stands the light-house.

These several points, together with the opposite shores, completely enclose the harbor, having Clark's Island and Saquish in its bosom. Beyond these points opens the great bay of Massachusetts, bounded at the southern extremity by the peninsula of Cape Cod, which is distinctly visible, and spreading boundless to the north-east. On the north appears the flourishing village of Duxbury, shooting into the bay, and exhibiting a handsome conical hill, ever to be remembered as once the property and residence of the gallant Standish. Between Duxbury and Plymouth, is the harbor and pleasant village of Kingston. Having taken a survey of this magnificent group, so exceedingly endeared to the New England antiquarian, and enjoyed a spiritual vision of the Mayflower, laden with men, women, and children, come as founders of a mighty nation, we are next led to view a scene of more solemn contemplation. The whole extent of the hill is covered with the symbols of mortality, the

* On the 10th day of May, 1834, the author planted an elm tree near the centre of the old fort, which may serve to designate its site to posterity.

sepulchres of our venerated fathers. We tread on the ashes of those to whom we are indebted, under Providence, for our most precious earthly enjoyments, all that is valuable in life, much of principle and example which are consoling in death. With what solicitude do we search for a sepulchral stone bearing the names of Carver, Bradford, and their glorious associates. It excites some surprise that sixty years should have elapsed before a grave-stone was erected to the memory of the deceased pilgrims; but it is probably to be ascribed to their poverty and want of artists. A considerable number of the oldest are of English slate-stone. No stone of an earlier date than 1681 is to be found in this enclosure, though it is by no means probable that this was the first interment here. It is to the memory of Edward Gray, a respectable merchant, whose name frequently occurs in the old records. The inscription is, 'Here lies the body of Edward Gray, Gent., aged about fifty-two years, and departed this life the last of June, 1681.' Edward and Thomas Gray, brothers, came to Plymouth about the year 1643. Thomas it is said afterwards settled in Tiverton, or some say Connecticut. Edward married Sarah Winslow, daughter of John Winslow; their children were Desire, Elizabeth, Sarah, and John. In December, 1665, he married for his second wife, Dorothy Lettice, by whom were born Edward, and five other children. The first Edward Gray is frequently mentioned in the old records. He made his mark for his name, as was not uncommon in those days; by habits of industry and good management, however, he gained the character of a respectable merchant, and acquired an estate worth £1250 sterling, the largest estate at that time in the colony. The second Edward, according to accounts received from Lewis Bradford, Esq., lived at Tiverton, Rhode Island. Thomas and Samuel lived at Little Compton, and also three daughters, two of whom married Coles, and the youngest married Caleb Loring, of Plympton, who is the ancestor of the Lorings in the north part of Plympton. Dorothy, the second wife of Edward Gray, married, when a widow, Nathaniel Clark, of Plymouth, for her second husband, but finally separated from him, and died in the family of her son-in-law, Caleb Loring, in May, 1728, aged more than eighty years. John Gray married Joanna Morton. Their children were Ann, who married Tinkham; Joanna married Ebenezer Fuller. Samuel married Patience Wadsworth. Mercy married Jabez Fuller. Samuel Gray, by Patience Wadsworth, had several children; those who survived infancy are Mary, Samuel, and Wait. John Gray married Desire Cushman, January 26th, 1775. Their surviving children are John, born May 5th, 1777; Lewis,

born May 3d, 1790. They lived in the old mansion house in Kingston.

The following is the language of the Rev. Dr. Dwight, after visiting our burying hill in October, 1800: 'Governor Carver was buried in the first burying ground, and is without a monument. This is dishonorable to the citizens of Plymouth, but will, I hope, not long remain so. The true character of the ancestors is becoming better understood by the people of New England, and their attention to the persons and facts mentioned in the early history of their country is continually increasing. The inhabitants of Plymouth, who, in this respect, hold the first station among their countrymen, will, I trust, feel the propriety of honoring with so becoming a tribute, the memory of a man to whom they are so greatly indebted. The remains of Governor Bradford were interred without a doubt in the old burying ground, near those of his son.* But

'Not a stone
Tells where he lies.'

It is most grateful to our feelings that a sepulchral monument

* The following are copied from some of the stones on our burying hill:—

Here lyes ye body of ye Honorable Major William Bradford, who expired February ye 20, 1703—4, aged 79 years.

He lived long, but was still doing good,
And in his country's service lost much blood.
After a life well spent he's now at rest—
His very name and memory is blest.

Here lyes ye body of Mr. Joseph Bradford, son to the late Honorable William Bradford, Esq., governor of Plymouth Colony, who departed this life July ye 20th, 1715, in the 85th year of his age.

Here lyeth buried ye body of that precious servant of God, Mr. Thomas Cushman, who, after he had served his generation according to the will of God, and particularly the church of Plymouth, for many years in the office of ruling elder, fell asleep in Jesus, December ye 10th, 1691, and in the 84th year of his age.

Here lyes buried the body of Mr. Thomas Faunce, ruling elder of the First Church of Christ in Plymouth. Deceased February 27, An. Dom. 1745, in the 99th year of his age.

The fathers, where are they?
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

Here lyes ye body of Mr. Thomas Clark, aged 98 years. Departed this life March 24th, 1697.

is at length erected to the memory of Governor William Bradford, under the direction of Alden Bradford, Esq., of Boston, a descendant of the fifth generation, and assisted by others of the descendants.* A neat monument was in May, 1825, erected on the site long fully ascertained to be the deposite of the remains of the second Governor of Plymouth Colony. The monument consists of a solid block of granite, two and a half feet square and 18 inches thick, laid on a proper solid foundation. On the granite block is placed a white marble block 20 inches square and 10 inches thick. And on this a white marble shaft is placed, of the height of six feet, and of a pyramidal form, the base being 15 inches, and the top about 8 inches; the whole monument being 8 feet and a half in height from the ground, with an inscription on the shaft.

The powder-house, on the north part of the hill, was built of brick in the year 1770; and the small mound in the form of a fort in the valley a little south-east of it, is said was built by Mrs. Cotton's scholars in the time of Queen Ann's war.

Cole's Hill.—This is a small square, on the sea bank, at the foot of Middle street. It is a pleasant spot, affording a fine ocean scenery. Here, too, we feel an impulse from ancestral recollections. On this hill, according to common tradition, were deposited the remains of those renowned pilgrims who fell a sacrifice during the perilous winter of 1620—1. About the year 1735, an enormous freshet rushed down Middle street, by which many of the graves of the fathers were laid bare, and their bones washed into the sea.

A breast-work and platform were erected on this bank in 1742. John Winslow, who at that time lived in town, had the direction of the work, and the selection of the spot. During the revolutionary war a battery was erected at the same place, while intrenchments were thrown up at a well-selected spot, for defence of the town; and a fort and garrison were established at the Gurnet, at the entrance of the harbor, by the United States. In the war with Great Britain, in the year 1814, an intrenchment was again thrown up on Cole's hill for the defence of the town.

* The following persons contributed to the sum for erecting the monument: the lady of James De Wolf, of Bristol; the lady of Lieut. Gov. Collins, of Newport; Hon. John Davis, of Boston; Mr. Le Baron Bradford, of Plymouth; Capt. Gershom Bradford, of Duxbury; Wm. J. A. Bradford, Esq.; Mr. Duncan Bradford, Mr. George P. Bradford, and Ezra Weston, Jr. Esq., of Boston.

Plymouth Beach.—This commences at Eel river, and extending three miles northerly, is a natural barrier to the wharves against the sweeping surges of the ocean.

Originally, the beach consisted of sand hills and hollows, covered with beach grass, excepting about 80 rods in length, and 30 rods in breadth, which was a thick forest. The inner side of the beach was covered with plum and wild-cherry-trees, and the swamp with large pitch pine and beech wood, with a large quantity of white grape-vine attached to the trees. In the centre of the hollow, was a spot about 50 feet square, which was a firm green sward, and shaded by four beach trees, from which were suspended numerous vines with clusters of grapes in their proper season. This was a pleasant resort for gentlemen and ladies, and was much frequented in the summer season, as is well remembered by persons now living. The point of the beach extended to the spot where the stone pier now stands, and not far from it was a house of entertainment for marines, as the harbor was a famous anchorage, and sometimes near one hundred vessels were seen riding in the Cow Yard. This was the natural state of the beach till about 1770. Our ancestors were well aware of the importance of the beach as security to the harbor, and we find in 1703 a penalty of five shillings imposed on any one who shall fell trees, or set fires on the beach. We find again in 1723 and 1726, committees chosen by the town to secure the beach from injury by cattle going at large, and who were enjoined as far as possible to prevent encroachments on said beach. In 1764, a viewing committee of the town reported £20 sufficient for the repairs of two small breaches near the woods. In December, 1778, a great storm increased these two breaches, after which a hedge fence was erected to accumulate the sand. In November, 1784, a tremendous gale from the east, accompanied by the highest tide ever known, carried away a part of the woods on the east side, and overflowed the valley and swamp, by which all the trees were killed in about three years, except those on the high ground. The same year a committee from the town viewed the breaches, and reported that a wall of eighty feet in length and four feet high, would be competent to the repairs, with hedge fence in low places; and that it would require about one thousand tons of stone, and at the cost of £414. The committee also recommended the digging of a canal to turn the course of Eel river, that it may empty into the channel within side of the beach as formerly; the river having been diverted from its natural course by some proprietors of meadows for their benefit, about 1750. It was the decided opinion of Mr. John Peck, a

skilful marine architect, about the year 1779, that for the safety of the harbor, a canal to turn the river back to its natural channel, was indispensably necessary. The judgment of such a man ought to have received immediate attention. But in the year 1803, a committee of the town examined the ground, and estimated the expense of a canal at a sum from \$600 to \$800. The town did not adopt this measure, and such were the extraordinary inroads of the sea, that in 1805 and 1806, the beach was in such a ruinous condition that the tide swept over it, and boats actually crossed at the breaches; nor was it long before a channel was worn in one of the breaches nine feet deep, and vessels loaded with stone passed through. A promiscuous wall of stone was now erected, but was soon entirely demolished by the surges of the sea, as if composed of simple turf.

A reviewing committee now reported that a sea wall of two thousand feet, requiring thirty thousand tons of stone, costing \$45,000, was found necessary. The town petitioned our legislature, from time to time, for assistance in repairing the beach. In 1785, a grant was obtained of £500, conditional, that the town would raise and apply the like sum; but, from inability, this was not complied with. In 1806, a township of land in the State of Maine was granted, on condition that the town raised and applied \$5000 in two years, which was accepted, and the township of land was sold for \$9,500. In 1812, a lottery to raise \$16,000 was granted by the General Court, which sum was eventually realized, and applied as designed. Since that time, another township of land has been granted for the same purpose. A sum, amounting to more than \$40,000, has been expended for repairs since the year 1806, without any assistance from the general government. But in the year 1824, the town preferred a petition to Congress for assistance; and the general government assumed to itself the future repairs; and in 1824 and 1825, made a grant of \$43,566. In 1824, the repairs were conducted by Lieutenant Chase, of the Engineer department, who received the thanks of the town for his faithful and judicious performances. The next year the repairs were prosecuted under the supervision of Colonel Totten, of the corps of Engineers, assisted by the collector of the port.

The method adopted for the repairs, is, by triangular frames of timber filled in with stones, around and over which the sand gathers and forms a new beach. In other places large bodies of brush are laid, which have produced the desired effect, accumulating sand into cliffs and helping the growth of beach grass. The frames employed are of three sizes, a part fourteen feet base, twelve feet rafters; twelve feet base, ten feet rafters; ten

feet base, seven feet rafters. These frames are morticed and tenoned together, and placed vertically in a line on the surface of the beach, and filled with stones. The largest size contains five tons, and the smallest three tons. The whole quantity of stones used from 1824 to 1831, is 14,997 tons. A wall has been erected to the extent of 450 feet, in the most substantial manner, and the works seem to have produced the desired effect. As an indirect aid to the security of the beach, a canal half a mile in length and fifteen feet wide, was cut by the town in the year 1814, for the purpose of conducting Eel river to its native outlet within side of the beach, which has been found to be of very essential advantage. This outlet will require annual vigilance, and it is confided to posterity as a work of great importance to the preservation of the harbor. The repairs of this beach which has so long engaged attention are now considered as complete, and with care and a little *annual expense, will probably continue as a mound of defence for ages.*

The Gurnet is a peninsula, or point of high land originating from Marshfield, and extending about 7 miles into the bay. On its southern extremity is situated the light-house. It was first erected in 1768, by the then province, at the expense of £660 17s. and in 1801, it was consumed by fire. The light-house now standing was erected by the United States, in 1803. It exhibits two lights, which are about 70 feet above the level of the sea. There is near the point a farm of rich soil which supports one family.

Sagwish is a head land joined to the Gurnet by a narrow neck, lies contiguous to Clark's Island, and contains 12 or 14 acres.

Clark's Island is the first land that received the footsteps of our fathers who formed the exploring party from Cape Cod. It received its name from Clark, the master's mate of the Mayflower, who first took possession of it with the shallop, December 8th, 1620. There is a tradition that Edward Dotey, a young man, attempted to be the first to leap on the island, but was severely checked for his forwardness, that Clark might first land and have the honor of giving name to the island, which it still retains. My authority for this tradition is Mr. Joseph Lucas, whose father was the great-grand-son of Edward Dotey. The anecdote has been transmitted from father to son, so tenaciously that it need not be disputed. He also states, that Edward Dotey was one of the earliest settlers in that part of Plymouth which is now Carver, where he died at an advanced age, and his estate there was inherited by his descendants of the same name till within a few years.

This island contains 86½ acres, as appears by the following survey. 'By virtue of a warrant from his excellency Sir Edward Andros, knight, captain general and governor in chief of his majesty's territory and dominion of New England, bearing date, Boston, the 23d of February, 1687,—I have surveyed and laid out for Mr. Nathaniel Clark, a certain small island, being known by the name of Clark's Island, and is situated and lying in New Plymouth Bay, bearing from the meeting-house in Plymouth north by north-east, about three miles, and is bounded round with water and flats, and contains eighty-six acres and a quarter and three rods. Performed this 3d day of March, 1687. 'PHILIP WELLS, Surveyor.'

In Governor Hutchinson's history of Massachusetts, this is called one of the best islands of Massachusetts Bay. The growth of wood was chiefly red cedar, and was formerly an article of sale at Boston, for gate posts. In 1690, Clark's Island was sold to Samuel Lucas, Elkanah Watson, and George Morton. The family of the late John Watson, Esq. have been the proprietors of this island for half a century, and still reside on it. There is at present but one island in the harbor of Plymouth; that which was formerly called Brown's Island is only a shoal lying about half a mile east by north from Beach point. 'This it is supposed was once upland, and there is a tradition, that stumps of trees have been seen here.' In Winthrop's Journal p. 87, it is said that in 1635, September 6th, 'Two shallops, going, laden with goods, to Connecticut, were overtaken in the night with an easterly storm, and cast away upon Brown's Island, near the Gurnet's Nose, and the men all drowned.'

Cow Yard. An anchorage in Plymouth harbor near Clark's Island. It takes its name from a cow whale, which once came into it and was caught, with her calf. This was formerly a famous anchorage for fishermen.

Salt House Beach is contiguous to Marshfield Beach, near Clark's Island.

High Pines is a piece of salt meadow which lies back of Clark's Island. 'William Shurtleff exchanges with the precinct, the precinct give him ten acres of upland and meadow, and he conveys to them a piece of salt meadow, six acres more or less, at High Pines.'—*County Records, b. v. fol. 113, 114.*

Sheep Pasture. At the commencement of the last century, the inhabitants considered it an object worthy of attention to encourage the rearing of sheep on the town's land. Accordingly in May, 1702, a tract of three miles square was granted to a

number of individuals, for their improvement as a sheep pasture. This tract was within the bounds of Plymouth, Rochester, Plympton, Carver, and extending to Smelt Pond in Kingston.

The plan which they adopted was to divide the property into 322 shares, which were taken up by 16 persons. A house and folds were erected, and a shepherd was employed, who resided on the spot. Twenty acres were allowed for cultivation, and the sheep were to be folded on the land the first three summers, with the view of bringing it into grass. In the year 1704, the town passed a vote that the said land shall be, and remain to the persons therein named, according to the number of shares they have signed for, and to such others as shall join them, and to their heirs forever. The endeavors of the proprietors were attended with little success, and in the year 1712, they began to think of resigning the land back to the town, and in 1712, this was done, and the project altogether abandoned as impracticable. The number of sheep was about 360. In 1768, a proposition was made to revive this project as a town concern, but it was wisely rejected. Subsequently to 1784, this tract was sold at different times; the last 800 acres were disposed of in 1798.

The Militia of the town. One company of Artillery, commanded by Eleazer S. Bartlett. One do. Light Infantry, called the Standish Guards, commanded by John Bartlett, 3d. Two companies Infantry, called South and North. South company, commanded by George W. Bartlett. North company, by Asa Barrows, Jr.

The above are attached to the 1st Regiment, commanded by Col. Leander Lovell, and belong to the 1st Brigade, 5th Division.

Manufactures. The Manufactures of Iron are various, and some of them extensive. On the stream called the Town brook are two forges, in which are made anchors, mill-cranks, plough-shares, sleigh shoes, &c. Formerly shovels were made at these works, under the superintendence of Mr. Ames, whose manufacture of the same article in Easton has since become so celebrated.

The rolling-mill and nail factory on the same stream have been in operation many years; the former was rebuilt in the year 1807, on the site of a slitting-mill for the manufacture of nail-rods, formerly the property of Martin Brimmer, Esq., of Boston. At this establishment are made about three tons of nails per day. Nearly all the nail machinery in this factory is the invention of Mr. Samuel Rogers, of East Bridgewater, who received large sums from the proprietors for his patents. There is one machine, lately invented and constructed by Mr.

Joseph Lucas, of this town, on a new principle, by which, while much of the manual labor is saved, a larger quantity of nails can be made in a given time than by any other machine. As a specimen of its performance, it may be mentioned, that the produce of something less than five hours' work was one thousand and twenty-five pounds of 10d. or board nails, of the very best quality. Mr. David Bradford, of this town, is the inventor of another nail machine, considered equal if not superior to the best of the old construction.

Near the rolling-mill, is an air furnace, occasionally used in casting machinery for the iron works. Here is also a furnace belonging to the same establishment, for converting bar iron into blistered steel. Thirty cords of wood are consumed in the process of baking, which requires from six to ten days. About eighteen tons are made in a batch.

At Eel River is another rolling mill of more modern construction. It commenced operation in June, 1827. The head and fall of water in this privilege are about thirty feet, with an unfailing stream. The rolling-mill and nail factory connected with it are built of granite, in a very strong and durable manner; the former is eighty by fifty feet in the clear, and the latter seventy-two by forty feet.

The rolling-mill will manufacture the present year about seventeen hundred tons of iron into nail-rods, plates and hoops.

Another nail factory, about one mile from these works, is supplied by them with plates; and on the same dam with it is a forge where bar-iron of superior tenacity is made from scraps. Below these, on the same stream, is a rivet factory, where may be seen a machine for making rivets, invented by Mr. Timothy Allen, another ingenious mechanic of Plymouth, and intended to supersede the ill-contrived tools at present used. It has been in successful operation one or two years, and fully answers the expectations of the inventor.

It may not be amiss to include in this enumeration, a factory lately put in operation by Captain Samuel Bradford, for making staves, to be used for nail casks. By this machinery the staves are sawed from the log, jointed, and tapered into the precise form necessary to give the cask the required shape.

Cotton Factories. The Cotton Factory on Town-brook was erected in 1813; dimensions ninety-two feet by thirty-six, and is four stories, including basement and attic. It contains about sixteen hundred spindles and thirty-four looms, and manufactures from nine hundred to one thousand yards of cloth daily, all about three quarters of a yard wide, employing about fifty-four hands.

The factory at Eel River was erected in 1812, and its dimensions are ninety-two by thirty-six, and is six stories, including the basement and attic. Belonging to the same establishment and at the same dam, is a smaller building which contains spinning machinery also.

There are about two thousand spindles in both, and about forty looms in operation. From eleven to twelve hundred yards of cloth are manufactured daily, part of which is three-fourths and part one yard wide. This factory gives employment to about sixty-four persons. The factory at Manomet Ponds contains about three hundred spindles, and manufactures about 50 pounds of coarse warp per day, a considerable portion of which is colored, and made into cod and mackerel lines, which are lately introduced into use, and bid fair to supersede those made of hemp altogether. These are twisted and laid by water in a small line-walk attached to the factory. There is also a small cotton factory on the forge stream at Eel River, which manufactures coarse warps, and a very superior kind of wicking used for making sperm candles. There is at the forge dam at Eel River, a small nail factory, where about one thousand nails are made daily.

Plymouth Cordage Company was incorporated in 1824. Their rope-walk situated in the north part of the town and near the Kingston line, is three stories high, capable of employing eighty hands and making five hundred tons of cordage per year. Their cordage is of a patent kind, in high repute and made by water power.

There is another rope-walk in town, operating by water power, but no statement of the extent of its operations could be procured.

There is also in town a twine and line manufactory, where eight tons of hemp are manufactured annually into twine and various kinds of line, which come to a profitable market.

Ship building was formerly carried on to a considerable extent in this town; many excellent vessels have been sent from our ship yards, but the business is now diminished on account of the scarcity of timber. In 1779, a packet ship was built in this town for Congress, by Mr. John Peck, who was at that time much celebrated for his skill as a marine architect. The ship was called the Mercury, and was commanded by Captain Simeon Sampson, and employed to carry public despatches to our ministers in France. The ship-yard was on the spot which is now the garden of Captain Lothrop Turner.

News Papers. In the year 1785, Nathaniel Coverly, of Boston, commenced the publication of a newspaper in town, en-

titled the *Plymouth Journal*, but from its limited circulation, and our nearness to the metropolis, it was discontinued after a few months. In 1822, Mr. Allen Danforth commenced the *Old Colony Memorial*, which is published every Saturday. This paper is increasing in reputation and is well supported. Connected with the printing office is a newspaper reading room, where intelligence from various quarters is daily received, and is a pleasant resort for the reading gentlemen at their leisure hours. Under the same roof is a book-store and bindery, and a circulating library. May 17th, 1832, appeared the first number of a weekly paper entitled the '*Pilgrim*,' established by Rev. F. Freeman, but in about one year it was discontinued for want of support. October 27, 1832, the first number of an anti-masonic newspaper was published in this town for the county of Plymouth. The imprint is *We the People, and Old Colony Press*, published once a week, by C. A. Hack and H. Seaver. Discontinued in 1834.

February 16, 1833, commenced *The Old Colony Democrat*, a weekly paper which in May 1834, was removed to Middleborough.

There are three licensed public taverns in towns, all of which are commodious, and well provided and attended; and there are two other taverns on the road to Sandwich.

Mrs. Nicholson's boarding house, in court square, has long been established, and is known to the public for its excellent accommodations.

The first regular stage commenced running from this town to Boston in 1796. We have now a stage establishment equal to any in the country, running daily in various directions, and provided with excellent horses and careful and attentive drivers. Although we can boast of no rail-road cars to facilitate conveyance, our public roads are kept in fine order, and our fathers would say that our Stage Coaches are good enough for their posterity to travel the paths over which they themselves were satisfied to trudge on foot or to ride on the backs of bulls.

The first post office establishment in this town was by our Provincial Congress, May 12, 1775. They established a mail route from Cambridge, through Plymouth and Sandwich to Falmouth, once a week. The Congress appointed William Watson, Esq., postmaster in this town, and Timothy Goodwin and Joseph Howland, joint post riders. The following are the rates and duties for the postage of letters, &c., to be paid in lawful money.

From any distance not exceeding 60 miles £0 - 0 - 5½

Upwards of 60 miles and not exceeding 100	8
Upwards of 100 and not exceeding 200	10½
Upwards of 200 and not exceeding 300	1 - 1
Upwards of 300 and not exceeding 400	1 - 4
Upwards of 400 and not exceeding 500	1 - 6½
Upwards of 500 and not exceeding 600	1 - 9
Upwards of 600 and not exceeding 700	2 -
Upwards of 700 and not exceeding 800	2 - 2½
Upwards of 800 and not exceeding 900	2 - 5
Upwards of 900 and not exceeding 1000	2 - 8

The rate of postage is doubled for all double letters, trebled for all treble letters, and for every ounce weight, four times as much is to be charged as for a single letter.

Plan of riding from Cambridge to Falmouth in Barnstable county:

'To set off from Cambridge every Monday noon, and leave his letters with William Watson, Esq., post-master at Plymouth Tuesday at four o'clock afternoon. To set off from Plymouth Wednesday morning 9 o'clock and leave his letters with Mr. Joseph Nye, 3d, post-master in Sandwich, Wednesday 2 o'clock afternoon; to set off from Sandwich at 4 o'clock and leave his letters with Mr. Moses Swift, post-master at Falmouth, Thursday morning 8 o'clock. To set off on his return Thursday noon and reach Sandwich at 5 o'clock, and set off from thence at 6 o'clock on Friday morning and reach Plymouth at noon; to set off from Plymouth Friday 4 o'clock afternoon and leave his letters with Mr. James Winthrop, post-master in Cambridge on Saturday evening.

Watertown, June 1, 1776.

We have appointed Messrs. Goodwin and Howland, joint post riders from the post office at Cambridge to the post office at Falmouth, through Sandwich and back again, which they are to perform according to the foregoing plan. Above you have the rates of postage; you will make up your mails separately for every office in the colony, inclosing a ticket sealed, and deliver it to the riders in due season, that they may be enabled to do their duty with punctuality; you are to be accountable to us according to the tenor of your bond, for all the money you receive for postage deducting your service in your office twenty per cent.

WILLIAM GREENLEAF, *by order.*

To William Watson, Esq., Post-Master at Plymouth.'

Such has been the improvement in travelling since that period, that the mail is now transported in covered carriages from Bos-

ton to Falmouth and returned in two days, and over the same route three times a week.

Alms House. In 1826, the town purchased a few acres of land well located, and erected a very commodious brick house and out houses, at the expense of from four to five thousand dollars, where the poor are well accommodated under the care of an overseer, and amply and comfortably provided for. The average number in the house is thirty-three, and the expense to the town for their support, overbalancing their earnings, is about one thousand dollars annually. This sum includes the expense of a few individuals partly supported out of the house.

Market. Our provision market affords an ample supply of the various substantials, the conveniences, and the luxuries of life, such as beef, pork, mutton, poultry, and sometimes venison. At our fish market we have cod, haddock, halibut, mackerel, bass, tautog, lobsters, eels, alewives, and clams. Should any one complain for want of a dinner, he must be chargeable with inexcusable indolence, and probably with intemperance.

Societies. **PILGRIM SOCIETY.** This society was established in 1820, by the descendants of the first settlers at Plymouth, and such others as were desirous of perpetuating their principles, and commemorating their virtues. The number of members of this society amounts to several hundred, and it is desirable that number should be increased. The terms of admission are ten dollars, and those who duly appreciate the principles of the institution and the characters of the puritan fathers, cannot fail to unite in this duty of filial piety, and contribute their aid to its support. An appropriate diploma, prepared by Mr. Penniman, of Boston, has been, and is designed to be distributed among the members. The diploma is about 15 inches by 10, the upper part gives a view of Plymouth harbor, the beach, and island. Below is a sketch of Plymouth village, and surrounding objects, as now presented to view. The stated meetings of the society are held at Pilgrim Hall, on the 22d of December, and for the choice of officers, the last Monday in May. The officers of the present year, 1834, are, Alden Bradford, president; Z. Bartlett, vice-president; Benjamin M. Watson, recording secretary; Pelham W. Warren, corresponding secretary; Isaac L. Hedge, treasurer; James Thacher, librarian and cabinet keeper. There are eleven trustees, and a committee of arrangements consisting of three.

Temperance Society. The Plymouth County Temperance Society, have frequently held their meetings in this town, and Daniel Frost, Jr. Esq., being employed as agent for the county, has on several occasions during the past summer, addressed

from our pulpits large and respectable assemblies on the subject of temperance. His addresses were received with universal approbation, and his unceasing efforts in the temperance cause, have been productive of such astonishing results, as to entitle him to the highest honor. By his influence, chiefly, more than 1000 names were inscribed here on the paper pledging themselves to abstain from the use of ardent spirits, and to discourage the practice in others. A temperance society has recently been formed in this town.

The promotion of temperance has long been an object of solicitude among most of the inhabitants of this town, and they have wisely attended to the awful desolations of intemperance, and in the great work of reformation which is now extending around us. Most decided is our opinion that this alarming evil is only to be suppressed by a general union in the means of entire abstinence from all ardent spirits, as a drink, or as an auxiliary to labor. It is auspicious to our community, that it has pleased Heaven to bless us with the temperance reformation. It may be presumed that the consumption of ardent spirits is diminished not less than three fourths within the last seven years, and in the same diminished proportion is life sacrificed, health, happiness, and domestic comfort destroyed, and the character and morals of our fellow men impaired by the practice of intemperance. Long may it be our happy condition that our temperance societies may meet with the co-operation of all classes of people in their efforts to improve the health of the community, to promote the industry and the means of living of individuals, to increase their self-respect and love of character, and to give a new impulse to the domestic virtues in the private relations of life.

Formerly there were two rum distilleries in this town, producing large quantities of New England rum, from which the neighboring towns were supplied with the fiery element, and considerable quantities were sent to the southern states annually. One of these houses was located where Mr. Gale's long house now stands, and the other occupied the lot now vacant, adjoining the lot of Mr. William Holmes. This was taken down in 1814, and we hope never to see another erected.

It is a matter of gratulation that there is so great a combination against intemperance throughout our country. It is truly honorable to all who enlist in this holy warfare; and may God grant that every effort, calculated to annihilate the practice of inebriation, may be crowned with success.

The Old Colony Peace Society hold their meetings occasionally in this town. There is also a *Debating Society* in town.

The ladies have for about fifteen years sustained a *Fragment Society*, much to their honor, having afforded essential benefit and relief to many poor and destitute families, bestowing charity to the poor, and are friends to the friendless.

Banks. The Plymouth Bank was incorporated June 23d, 1804, capital \$100,000; first president, was Hon. William Sever of Kingston, after him Hon. William Davis, at present, Barnabas Hedge, Esq. First Cashier, William Goodwin, at present, Nathaniel Goodwin.

Plymouth *Institution for Savings*, president, Barnabas Hedge; treasurer, Allen Danforth, office at Plymouth Bank. Deposit day, first Tuesday of every month. Amount of deposits in 1833, \$100,000.

Old Colony Bank, incorporated in February, 1832, capital \$100,000; president, Jacob Covington; cashier, Ebenezer G. Parker.



The following is a list of those gentlemen who have delivered discourses in the town on the anniversary of the arrival of our Forefathers. Those marked with an asterisk, (*) have not been printed.

- 1769, First celebration by Old Colony Club.
- 1770, Second celebration by Old Colony Club.
- 1771, Third celebration by Old Colony Club.
- 1772, Rev. Chandler Robbins—For Old Colony Club.
- 1773, Rev. Charles Turner—For Old Colony Club. By the town and by the first parish.
- 1774, Rev. Gad Hitchcock, Pembroke.
- 1775, Rev. Samuel Baldwin, Hanover,
- 1776, Rev. Sylvanus Conant, Middleborough,
- 1777, Rev. Samuel West, Dartmouth.
- 1778, Rev. Timothy Hilliard, Barnstable.*
- 1779, Rev. William Shaw, Marshfield.*
- 1780, Rev. Jonathan Moor, Rochester.*

From this time the public observances of the day were suspended, till

- 1794, Rev. Chandler Robbins, D. D. of Plymouth.
- 1795,)
- 1796,) Private Celebration.
- 1797,)
- 1798, Dr. Zaccheus Bartlett, Plymouth, Oration.*

1799, The day came so near that appointed for the ordination of Rev. Mr. Kendall, that it was not celebrated by a public discourse.

1800, John Davis, Esq., Boston, Oration.*

1801, Rev. John Allyn, D. D., Duxbury.

1802, John Q. Adams, Esq., Quincy, Oration.

1803, Rev. John T. Kirkland, D. D., Boston.*

1804, (Lord's Day) Rev. James Kendall, Plymouth.*

1805, Alden Bradford, Esq., Boston.

1806, Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., Cambridge.

1807, Rev. James Freeman, D. D., Boston.*

1808, Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Dorchester.

1809, Rev. Abiel Abbot, Beverly.

1811, Rev. John Elliot, D. D., Boston.

1815, Rev. James Flint, Bridgewater.

1817, Rev. Horace Holley, Boston.*

1818, Wendell Davis, Esq., Sandwich.*

1819, Francis C. Gray, Esq., Boston.

1820, Daniel Webster, Esq., Boston, by Pilgrim Society.

1824, Professor Edward Everett, Cambridge, by Pilgrim Society.

1831, Rev. John Brazer, Salem, by First Parish in Plymouth.

The following anniversaries were commemorated by the third parish in Plymouth.

1826, Rev. Richard S. Storrs, Braintree.

1827, Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D., Boston.

1828, Rev. Samuel Green, Boston.

1829, Rev. Daniel Huntington, Bridgewater.

1830, Rev. Benjamin Wisner, D. D., Boston.

1831, Rev. John Codman, D. D., Dorchester.

1832, Rev. Convers Francis of Watertown for the First Parish.

Rev. Mr. Bigelow, of Rochester, for the third Parish.

1833, Rev. Mr. Barrett of Boston, for the first Parish.

1834, Rev. G. W. Blagden of Boston, for the Pilgrim Society.

HYMNS, ODES, &c.

*Written for the Anniversary of the Landing of the
Pilgrims.*

HYMN FOR THE 22^D OF DECEMBER.

TUNE—' *Old Hundred.*'

HAIL, Pilgrim Fathers of our race!
With grateful hearts, your toils we trace;
Again this *Votive Day* returns,
And finds us bending o'er your urns.

Jehovah's arm prepar'd the road;
The *Heathen* vanish'd at his nod:
He gave his *Vine* a lasting root;
He loads his goodly boughs with fruit.

The hills are cover'd with its shade;
Its thousand shoots like cedars spread;
Its branches to the sea expand,
And reach to broad *Superior's* strand.

Of peace and truth the gladsome ray
Smiles in our skies and cheers the day;
And a new Empire's 'splendent wheels
Roll o'er the top of western hills.

Hail, Pilgrim Fathers of our race!
With grateful hearts your toils we trace;
Oft as this *Votive Day* returns,
We 'll pay due honors to your urns.

ODE FOR THE 22D OF DECEMBER.

BY HON. JOHN DAVIS.

*Composed for the Anniversary Festival at Plymouth, in the
year 1794.*

Sons of renowned Sires,
Join in harmonious choirs,
Swell your loud songs ;
Daughters of peerless dames,
Come with your mild acclaims,
Let their revered names
Dwell on your tongues.

From frowning Albion's seat,
See the fam'd band retreat,
On ocean tost ;
Blue tumbling billows roar,
By keel scarce plough'd before,
And bear them to this shore,
Fetter'd with frost.

By yon wave-beaten Rock,
See the illustrious flock
Collected stand ;
To seek some sheltering grove,
Their faithful partners move,
Dear pledges of their love
In either hand.

Not winter's sullen face,
Not the fierce tawny race
In arms array'd ;
Not hunger shook their faith
Not sickness' baleful breath,
Nor Carver's early death,
Their souls dismay'd

Water'd by heavenly dew,
The *Germ of Empire* grew,
Freedom its root;
From the cold northern pine,
Far t'ward the burning line,
Spreads the luxuriant vine,
Bending with fruit.

Columbia, child of Heaven,
The best of blessings giv'n,
Rest on thy head;
Beneath thy peaceful skies,
While prosperous tides arise,
Here turn thy grateful eyes,
Revere the dead.

Here trace the moss-grown stones,
Where rest their mould'ring bones,
Again to rise;
And let thy sons be led,
To emulate the dead,
While o'er their tombs they tread
With moisten'd eyes.

Sons of renowned Sires,
Join in harmonious choirs,
Swell your loud songs;
Daughters of peerless dames,
Come with your mild acclaims,
Let their revered names
Dwell on your tongues.

HYMN—BY REV. DR. HOLMES.

*Sung at the 186th Anniversary of the Landing of the Fathers
at Plymouth, December 22d, 1806.*

TUNE—' *Old Hundred.*'

OUR Fathers' God ! to Thee we raise,
With one accord, the song of praise ;
To Thee our grateful tribute pay,
Oft as returns this festal day.

With tearful eyes we here will trace
Thy wonders to the Pilgrim race,
And while those wonders we explore,
Their names extol, thy name adore.

Our Fathers' God ! Thy own decree
Ordain'd the Pilgrims to be free ;
In foreign lands they own'd thy care,
And found a safe asylum there.

When the wide main they travers'd o'er,
And landed on this sea-beat shore,
The Pilgrim's Rock must e'er proclaim
Thy guardian care was still the same.

Our Father's God ! while here we trace
Our lineage to the Pilgrim race,
O may we like those Pilgrims live,
And in the sons the sires revive.

Our Father's God ! to Thee we raise,
With one accord, the song of praise ;
To Thee our grateful tribute pay,
Oft as returns this festal day.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

The following Song, composed by REV. DR. FLINT, for the occasion, was sung at the Public Dinner at Plymouth, on the 22d of December, 1820.

1. COME, listen to my story,
 Though often told before,
Of men who pass'd to glory,
 Through toil and travail sore ;
Of men who did for conscience sake
 Their native land forego,
And sought a home and freedom here
 Two hundred years ago.
2. O, 't was no earth-born passion,
 That bade the adventurers stray ;
The world and all its fashion,
 With them had passed away.
A voice from Heaven bade them look
 Above the things below,
When here they sought a resting-place
 Two hundred years ago.
3. O, dark the scene and dreary,
 When here they set them down ;
Of storms and billows weary,
 And chill'd with winter's frown.
Deep moan'd the forests to the wind,
 Loud howl'd the savage foe,
While here their evening prayer arose
 Two hundred years ago.
4. 'T would drown the heart in sorrow
 To tell of all their woes ;
No respite could they borrow,
 But from the grave's repose.
Yet nought could daunt the Pilgrim Band
 Or sink their courage low,
Who came to plant the Gospel here
 Two hundred years ago.

5. With humble prayer and fasting,
In every strait and grief,
They sought the Everlasting,
And found a sure relief.
Their cov'nant God o'ershadow'd them,
Their shield from every foe,
And gave them here a dwelling place
Two hundred years ago.
6. Of fair New England's glory,
They laid the corner-stone ;
This praise, in deathless story,
Their grateful sons shall own.
Prophetic they foresaw in time,
A mighty state should grow,
From them a few, faint Pilgrims here,
Two hundred years ago.
7. If greatness be in daring,
Our Pilgrim Sires were great,
Whose sojourn here, unsparing,
Disease and famine wait ;
And oft their treach'rous foes combin'd
To lay the strangers low,
While founding here their commonwealth
Two hundred years ago.
8. Though seeming over-zealous,
In things by us deem'd light,
They were but duly jealous
Of power usurping right.
They nobly chose to part with all
Most dear to men below,
To worship here their God in peace
Two hundred years ago.
9. From seeds they sowed with weeping,
Our richest harvests rise,
We still the fruits are reaping
Of Pilgrim enterprise.

Then grateful we to them will pay
 The debt of fame we owe,
 Who planted here the tree of life
Two hundred years ago.

10. As comes this period yearly,
 Around our cheerful fires,
 We 'll think and tell how dearly
 Our comforts cost our sires.
 For them will wake the votive song,
 And bid the canvass glow,
 Who fix'd the home of freedom here
Two hundred years ago.

ODE

*For the Celebration of the Anniversary of the Pilgrim Society
 of Plymouth, December 22d, 1824.*

BY REV. J. PIERPONT.

THE pilgrim fathers—where are they ?
 The waves that brought them o'er
 Still roll in the bay, and throw their spray,
 As they break along the shore:
 Still roll in the bay, as they rolled that day
 When the Mayflower moored below,
 When the sea around was black with storms,
 And white the shore with snow.

The mists, that wrapped the pilgrim's sleep,
 Still brood upon the tide ;
 And his rocks yet keep their watch by the deep,
 To stay its waves of pride ;
 But the snow-white sail, that he gave to the gale
 When the heavens looked dark, is gone :—
 As an angel's wing, through an opening cloud,
 Is seen, and then withdrawn.

The pilgrim exile—sainted name!
 The hill, whose icy brow
 Rejoiced, when he came, in the morning's flame,
 In the morning's flame burns now.
 And the moon's cold light as it lay that night
 On the hill-side and the sea,
 Still lies where he laid his houseless head;—
 But the pilgrim—where is he?

The pilgrim fathers are at rest:
 When Summer 's throned on high,
 And the world's warm breast is in verdure dressed
 Go, stand on the hill where they lie.
 The earliest ray of the golden day
 On that hallowed spot is cast;
 And the evening sun, as he leaves the world,
 Looks kindly on that spot last.

The pilgrim *spirit* has not fled:
 It walks in noon's broad light;
 And it watches the bed of the glorious dead,
 With the holy stars, by night.
 It watches the bed of the brave who have bled,
 And shall guard this ice-bound shore,
 Till the waves of the bay, where the Mayflower lay,
 Shall foam and freeze no more.

ORIGINAL HYMN.

By REV. S. DEANE, for the 22d of Dec., 1831.

Lo! the rising star of Freedom
 Once our pilgrim fathers blest;
 By her light, ordained to lead them,
 To the land of promised rest.
 Star of heaven!
 Star of heaven!
 Trav'ling toward the distant west.

While their countless toils enduring,
 Faith the promise kept in sight :
 For themselves and sons securing,
 Home and country, truth and light.
 Star of heaven !
 Star of heaven !
 Pointing to Jehovah's might.
 Now the relics round us lying,
 Grateful children guard their clay !
 While their spirits, never dying,
 Hope has borne on wings away :
 Star of heaven !
 Star of heaven !
 Guiding to a brighter day.
 Raise we honors to their merit,
 Temples sculptured with their name ?
 No ! their virtues to inherit,
 Seals their bright and conscious fame.
 Star of heaven !
 Star of heaven !
 High they shine with ceaseless flame.
 See the lights around us gleaming,
 Still to guide the pilgrims' eyes :
 See the star of empire beaming,
 Bids their children's glory rise.
 Star of heaven !
 Star of heaven !
 Glowing still in western skies.

ORIGINAL HYMN.

For the Dedication of the New Church.

BY REV. J. PIERPONT.

1. THE winds and waves are roaring :
 The Pilgrims met for prayer ;
 And here, their God adoring,
 They stood in open air.

When breaking day they greeted,
And when its close was calm,
The leafless woods repeated
The music of their psalm.

2. Not thus, O God, to praise thee,
Do we, their children throng :
The temple's arch we raise thee,
Gives back our choral song.
Yet, on the winds that bore thee
Their worship and their prayers,
May ours come up before thee
From hearts as true as theirs !

3. What have we, Lord, to bind us
To this, the Pilgrims' shore !—
Their hill of graves behind us,
Their watery way before,
The wintry surge, that dashes
Against the rocks they trod,
Their memory, and their ashes—
Be thou their guard, O God !

4. We would not, Holy Father,
Forsake this hallowed spot,
Till on that shore we gather
Where graves and griefs are not :
The shore where true devotion
Shall rear no pillared shrine,
And see no other ocean
Than that of love divine.

HYMN.

BY W. C. BRYANT.

WILD was the day; the wintry sea
Moaned sadly on New England's strand,
When first, the thoughtful and the free,
Our fathers, trod the desert land.

They little thought how pure a light
With years, should gather round that day;
How love should keep their memories bright,
How wide a realm their sons should sway.

Green are their bays; and greener still
Shall round their spreading fame be wreathed,
And regions now untrod, shall thrill
With reverence, when their names are breathed.

Till where the sun, with softer fires,
Looks on the vast Pacific's sleep,
The children of the pilgrim sires,
This hallowed day like us shall keep.

ANNIVERSARY HYMN.

Composed for the Anniversary Dec. 22d, 1834.

BY W. S. RUSSELL.

St. Martins.—C. M.

Lo where of old the Fathers dwelt,
From home and temples dear,
And oft in prayer devoutly knelt,
Their children would appear.

And round thine altar, God of grace,
With rev'rent homage stand,
Through ages past thy love to trace
In this our favor'd land.

By faith inspir'd with steadfast mind,
To shun oppression's rage,
The Pilgrims here their steps inclined,
Bright heralds of their age.

No golden mines their visions lur'd,
No conq'ror's pride was theirs ;
The soul's pure worship once secur'd,
Repays their generous cares.

Here freedom's sacred altars rose,
Rear'd by the Pilgrim sires ;
We 'll guard them still from threat'ning foes,
And light anew their fires.

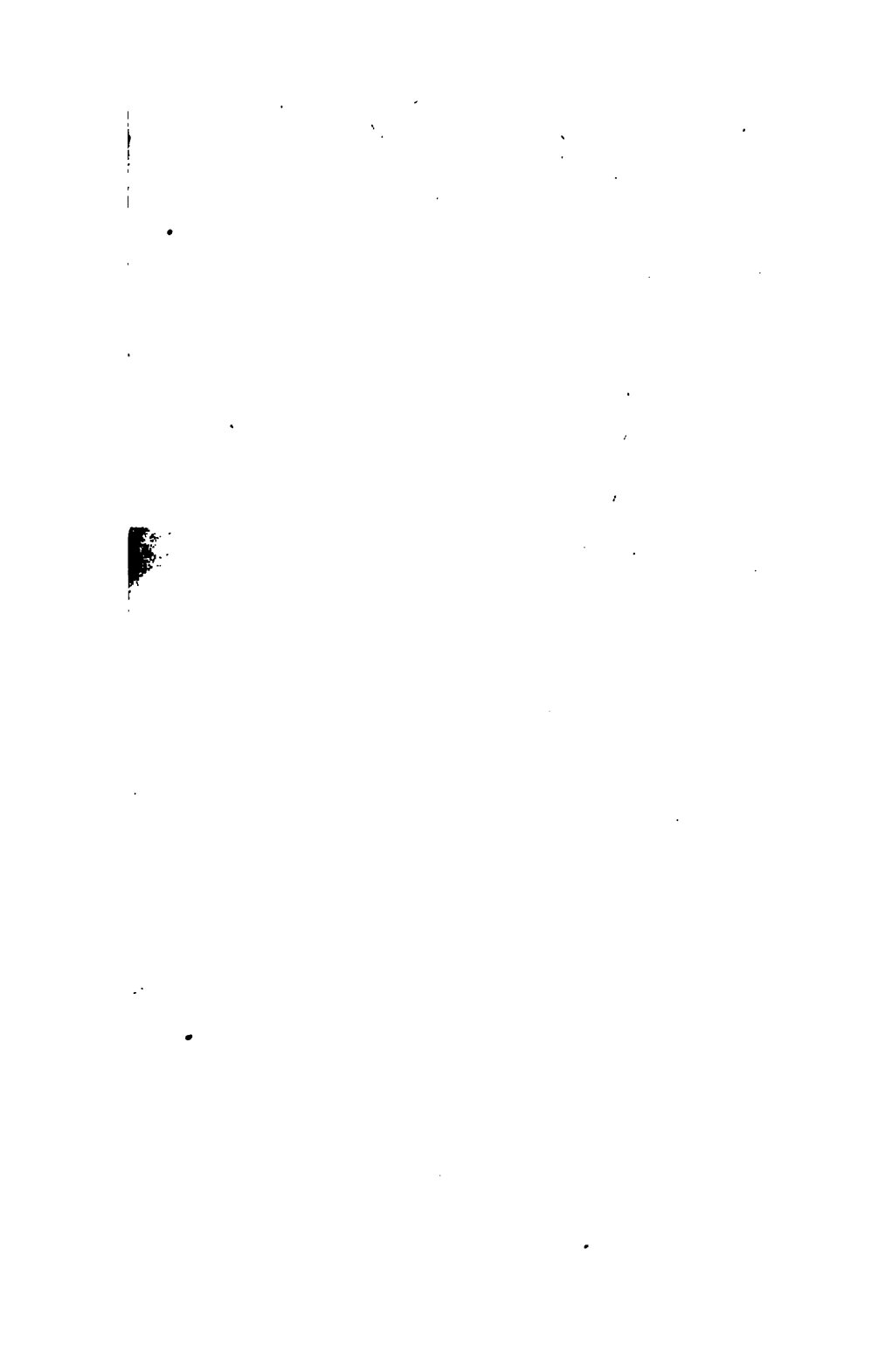
Great God, thine all pervading sway,
Each passing age controls,
O may thy grace illumine our day,
And ever cheer our souls.

7

THE ABORIGINES or INDIAN NATIVES

OF

NEW ENGLAND.



THE
ABORIGINES OR INDIAN NATIVES
OF NEW ENGLAND.

THE various tribes of American Indians differed but little from each other in manners and customs, and they all formed a striking picture of the remotest antiquity. In studying the character and manners of the natives of our country, we recognize in some measure the antiquity of all nations, and from which some light is thrown upon many parts of ancient authors both sacred and profane. In their persons, the American Indians were from five to six feet in height, straight in their limbs, formed in muscle for great strength and activity, and capable of enduring astonishing privations and hardships. Their features were regular, but their countenance peculiarly fierce; of a reddish, and not unpleasant complexion, their eyes black, their hair long, black, lank and strong. It was their constant practice to oil their bodies and face with fat of bears and eagles, and to paint the face with various fantastic colors, as red, black and white. The dress of the men, was the skin of a deer or wolf, though generally they were naked, except a slight covering about the waist. Their moccasins were made of skins, and their snow-shoes were ingeniously constructed to walk on the snow. Their women were commonly attired in beaver skins.

They entertained the idea that cultivating the earth is degrading to man, who they say was made for war and hunting, and holding council, and that "squaws and hedge hogs were made to scratch the ground." Their women therefore were held in perfect slavery, being put to all out-door drudgery as planting and weeding corn and carrying burdens, &c. while the men were indulging themselves in idleness. They called the white people "much fool to spoil their women by keeping them from out-door labor and making them lazy squaws." They manifested on all occasions a strong attachment and affection for their children. Their invariable rule for planting corn was when the leaves of the oak were of the size of a mouse's ear. They used large clam shells, or the shoulder bone of a moose

or deer fixed to a handle, to dig the earth and weed the corn. Their wigwams were constructed with poles or young saplings set into the ground, and covered with bark and mats, the smoke passing out at the top. Their food was extremely simple; besides that procured by hunting and fishing, they obtained from the earth, acorns, ground nuts, Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, and squashes. Whortleberries, gooseberries and strawberries, were plenty in their season. Their mode of cooking although very imperfect, afforded them some variety of food. Indian corn broken and boiled, they called *nausamp* or *samp*; corn when parched and reduced to powder resembling snuff, they called *Nokekike* or *Nokake*; this article they always carried with them when travelling abroad, a little of which mixed with water would serve them for many days' support when hunting. Corn pounded to meal, and boiled, was called hominy, and corn and beans boiled together, they called *succatash*, and this is even now a favorite dish at our anniversary festivals and among antiquarians. The education of the natives from their infancy, was solely directed to fit their bodies for the endurance of the greatest hardships and privations, and to form their minds to inflict, and to suffer the most appalling evils. It is really wonderful that the human constitution should be capable of sustaining such severe discipline as was on some occasions put in practice. Their infants were from the birth corded down to a board and confined in one position for months in succession, and their young men who were educated for powows were forced to swallow some nauseous draught as an emetic, and when the contents of the stomach were thrown up they were obliged to swallow the same again and again till the stomach itself was almost inverted. Their chief occupations were hunting and war. When their hunting season was over, they generally loitered in their cabins in entire indolence, and ate and drank with unbounded excess while their stores lasted. After the introduction of spirituous liquors among them they suffered inexpressible miseries; they would drink without restraint, so long as they could procure liquor, and in their drunkenness they would lie exposed to the weather and perish in rivers, swamps, or tumble into the fire. They would quarrel, and frequently murder each other when intoxicated.

Their war weapons were, bows, arrows and tomahawks. With their strong elastic bows they could throw an arrow to a great distance, and strike an object with surprising precision. Their arrows were feathered with the quills of eagles and pointed with a long sharp stone, or with bones, or eagle's claws. Their tomahawks were made of flat stone sharpened to an edge

and fixed to a handle, they knew not the use of iron. But soon after the arrival of the English settlers, the natives were supplied with iron tomahawks, and even with fire arms, by the French and some others, and taught to use them with dexterity. When prepared for war the appearance of a company of Indians was truly formidable; their faces were painted in a manner to give them a fierce aspect, all the hair on each side of the head was plucked out to the naked skin, and a single narrow tuft tied up on the crown, extending from the forehead to the occiput, resembling a cock's comb. After they learnt the use of fire arms, powder horns and shot bags at their backs were among their war implements. The war dance and the ceremony of smoking in brotherly concord, the pipe passing from one to another, always preceded the war engagements, and was their bond of sacred obligation. Their mode of warfare was stratagem and ambush, taking their enemy by sudden surprise, accompanied by the most horrific savage yells. In their assaults upon defenceless houses for conflagration and slaughter, their indiscriminate butchery was marked by savage cruelty without the least regard to humanity or mercy; and the wretched inhabitants that were captured and carried into the wilderness suffered a fate little less dreadful than death. Those who were too feeble to travel were murdered on their way, others when arrived at their wigwams were put into Indian families as servants and a master and mistress assigned them, unless indeed they were destined to be tormented for the amusement of their savage captors. When prisoners were taken in battle they were treated differently according to existing circumstances. Had one of the tribe been slain or captured, a prisoner either Indian or white man might have the good fortune to be adopted in his place. But otherwise, the prisoner was condemned to suffer the most cruel torment by being roasted alive, while the savages danced around the fire with awful yells; or the prisoner's body was tortured by tearing or biting off the flesh, or cutting off the fingers and limbs by pieces, tearing out the finger nails and protracting life as long as possible that the torment may be increased and lengthened. The Indian victim suffered the most exquisite torture with a fortitude almost beyond human nature; often in defiance pointing out to his tormenters means of greater torture.

It seems not to have been ascertained at what era the horrid practice of scalping victims was first introduced among the several tribes of North American Indians. It has been supposed by some that scalping was unknown prior to the arrival of the white settlers; but so early as 1608, according to Capt.

Smith's history of the Virginia settlement, the Indians at one time killed 24 men—took off their scalps, and with the women and children prisoners returned to their village. The scalps they exhibited upon a line between two trees as a trophy. It appears that the good people of Massachusetts were not backward in adopting this savage custom. It is recorded that, the cruel and barbarous murders daily committed by the Indians upon the defenceless frontier inhabitants (about 1725) caused the general court of Massachusetts to offer a bounty of £100 for every Indian's scalp. In an excursion with 40 men, Capt. Lovewell fell in with a company of ten Indians who were asleep, and killed all of them. After taking off their scalps, these 40 warriors marched to Boston in great triumph, with ten scalps extended upon hoops, displayed in a formal manner, and for which they received £1000.* At subsequent periods, the practice of scalping was common in various parts of our country, as well also as that of torture by burning alive.

In the colonies, during the war between England and France in 1760, the tomahawk and scalping knife were employed by the savages in the colonies to all their victims indiscriminately of age or sex. In 1763, the natives actually "boiled and ate the body of Sir Robert Devers;" and these barbarians of the forest were known to scoop up the blood of their victims and drink it in savage triumph. No language indeed can paint the horrors of Indian warfare, nor can one listen to even a feeble detail of their cruelties, without a *blood-boiling shudder*. Their adroitness in taking off the scalp is almost incredible; having inflicted the mortal wound with the tomahawk, the savage takes the dying body between his knees, and with his scalping knife makes a circular incision round the head, then seizing hold of the skin with his teeth, he strips off the entire scalp to the naked skull in an instant. Numerous instances of recovery after this dreadful operation, can be adduced.† The scalping Indians have a singular method of drying the scalps, and of painting on them different figures and colors designating the sex and age of the victim, and also the manner and circumstances of the murder. But the brighter shade of the Indian character is peculiarly striking. They were remarkable for gravity in their deportment upon all serious occasions; of a temper

* Drake's Indian biography, page 237: and it is noticed that one Indian was scalped by the Chaplain.

† See a remarkable example of this in Capt. Greg related by the author, in his military journal, page 113, of this volume.

cool and deliberate, never in haste to speak before they have thought well on the subject and are sure the person who spoke before them has finished all he had to say. They had therefore, the greatest contempt for the vivacity of the Europeans who interrupted each other, and frequently speak altogether. It was edifying to observe their behavior in their public councils and assemblies. Every one there was heard in his turn according to his years, his wisdom, or his services to his country had ranked him. Their language was lofty, their sentences short, and abounding with metaphor. Not a word, not a whisper, nor murmur was heard from the rest while one was speaking. No indecent contradiction, no ill-timed applause. Here the younger class were present to learn the history of their nation, and hear the songs of those who celebrate the war-like actions of their ancestors; and here they were taught what belonged to the interest of their country, and the most proper means of contributing to its welfare. We know of no people amongst whom the laws of hospitality were more sacred, or executed with more generosity and good will. Has any one of them succeeded ill in his hunting? has his harvest failed? or is his wigwam burnt? He feels no other effect of his misfortune, than that it gives him an opportunity of experiencing the benevolence and regard of his brethren. The stranger was always welcomed to the cabin of the savage and permitted to share in all the comforts which it afforded even to the last morsel of food, and an act of kindness received is never forgotten. Instances have been known of prisoners being set free on recollection of benefits received. The native Indians discovered a peculiar propensity to the indulgence of smoking tobacco. The Rev. Roger Williams says, "Generally, all the men throughout the country have a tobacco bag with a pipe in it hanging at his back." In their social intercourse, it was as much a mark of friendship to offer the pipe and tobacco as in our polite circles to present a glass of wine. But to the enemies of his country or tribe, or to those who have privately offended, the Indian is implacable. He conceals his intentions, he appears reconciled, until by some treachery, or surprise, he finds an opportunity of executing an horrible revenge. He is capable of disguising his feelings, and concealing his designs, at the moment, even when he is about to plunge the dagger into the heart of his victim. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment; no distance of place great enough to protect the object; he crosses the steepest mountains, he penetrates the most impracticable forests, and traverses the most hideous swamps and deserts for hundreds of

miles, bearing the inclemency of the seasons, the fatigues of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirst with patience and cheerfulness, in hopes of surprising his enemy, on whom he is prepared to exercise the most shocking barbarities, even to the eating of his flesh and drinking his blood. Notwithstanding their ferocity, no people have their angry passions more under their command. From their infancy they are formed with care to endure scoffs, taunts, blows, and every sort of insult patiently, or at least with a composed countenance. They esteemed nothing so unworthy a man of sense and dignity, as a peevish temper, and proneness to a sudden gush of anger. As to their religion, they manifested very little idea of a God, though they recognise the Great Spirit in the clouds and the winds,* and seemed to acknowledge him as eternal and omnipotent, the author of the seasons and of all good; yet they render to him no kind of worship. There were indeed nations in America who paid some religious homage to the sun and moon; and others who worshipped the Devil, with the hope of appeasing his anger, and of courting his friendship and protection. They appeared to have some obscure conceptions of a future state or spiritual life, and they were accustomed to bury in the graves with the dead their war implements and household utensils and ornaments, with the belief that they will be used by the disembodied spirits. They were full in the superstitious belief of demons and fairies, and great observers of omens and dreams, and relied much on diviners, augurs, and magicians, in all their affairs, whether of health, war, or hunting. Their priests or powows, were their physicians, who practised, for the relief of the sick, magical ceremonies and incantations. They acted in the character of witches, calling on the Devil to assist them in the cure of diseases. In his incantations, the powow, sometimes with an assumed fierceness of countenance, and at others with antic gestures and horrible grimaces, labored to extreme sweating and weariness, promising to sacrifice many skins of beasts, kettles, hatchets, beads, knives, and other the best things they possessed, to the fiend, if he would come to help the diseased person. A powow could not work his witchcraft in the presence of an English person, nor could his incantations have any effect on the English. They adopted one expedient for the cure of diseases, which may be deemed hazardous. The patient was shut up in a close cabin, and heated by steam until a copious perspiration was produced, when he was suddenly plunged into

* 'Lo the poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind.'—Pope.

a river. This is similar to the practice among the Russians, who, after being heated to the highest degree, roll themselves on the snow, and with impunity.

The American Aborigines were divided into numerous independent tribes, and their forms of government were various. In some tribes, their government was an absolute despotism; in the hands of the *Sachem* or *Sagamores*, and was hereditary. When a king or Sachem died, the powow married the squaw, that is, his queen, and became king in the right of his wife.

There were also among the Indians another grade of influential men, called *Paniese*, who were selected for their great courage and wisdom; and to these also, the Devil, as they supposed, appeared more familiarly than to others, and would preserve them from death, by wounds with arrows, knives, hatchets, &c. The Paniese were held in high esteem, and were always of the Sachem's council, without whom they would not engage in war, or undertake any weighty business. Unwearied endeavors were used by the first settlers to civilize and christianize the native Indians. Under the management of the pious and benevolent Mr. Eliot, the bible was translated into the Indian language. Indian churches and societies were formed, and preachers and deacons were chosen among them; and at one period so considerable was the number of those called christians or praying Indians, as to afford encouragement, that, by the blessing of Divine Providence, a more general conversion would take place. But there were not a few of their influential Sachems who were pertinaciously opposed to the introduction of christianity in their tribes. Some, who had adopted the christian profession, apostatized from the faith, and, like the dog to his vomit, returned to heathenism.

An honest Indian deacon of Natick, being asked the reason why, when their young men were educated in English families and became acquainted with their habits and manners, on returning to their tribe they immediately became idle, indolent drunkards? the deacon replied, '*Tucks will be tucks for all old hen be hatch em.*'

In the town of Yarmouth, there was an Indian deacon, named Joseph Naughaut. He was very pious and exemplary, was often called to pray with the sick, and at funerals; when at an advanced age, he was, in his last sickness, visited by the late Rev. Mr. Alden, who asked him if he was reconciled to death? 'O, yes,' said he, 'I have always had a pretty good notion about death.' Naughaut was once, while in the woods, attacked by a large number of black snakes. Not having a stick, a knife, or any article for defence, he knew not what to do. Knowing

that he could not outrun them, he resolved to stand still on his feet. The snakes began to entwine themselves about him, and one reached his mouth, as if trying to enter; the deacon opened his mouth, and the snake put in its head, when the deacon instantly clapped his jaws together, and bit off the serpent's head. The streaming blood from the beheaded frightened the rest of the snakes, and they all ran off.—*Alden's Epitaphs.*

If the native Indians were remarkable for their gravity on some occasions, they were no less so for a propensity to cunning and shrewdness on others.

By permission of the author, I cite a few examples from Drake's valuable Indian Biography.

As Governor Joseph Dudley, of Massachusetts, observed an able-bodied Indian half naked come and look on as a pastime to see his men work, asked him why he did not work, *and get some clothes to cover himself.* The Indian answered by asking him *why he did not work.* The Governor, pointing with his finger to his head, said, '*I work head work,* and so have no need to work with my hands, as you should.' The Governor told him he wanted a calf killed, and that, if he would go and do it, he would give him a shilling. He accepted the offer, and went immediately and killed the calf, and then went sauntering about as before. The Governor, on observing what he had done, asked him why he did not dress the calf before he left it. The Indian answered, '*No, no, Coponoh,* (Governor,) that was not in the bargain. I was to have a shilling for killing him. Am he no dead, Coponoh?' (Governor.) The Governor, seeing himself outwitted, told him to dress it, and he would give him another shilling. Being now in possession of two shillings, the Indian goes directly to a grog-shop for rum. After a short stay, he returned to the Governor, and told him he had given him a bad shilling piece, and presented a brass one to be exchanged. The Governor, thinking possibly it might have been the case, gave him another. It was not long before he returned a second time with another brass shilling to be exchanged; the Governor was now convinced of his knavery, but, not caring to make words at the time, gave him another; and the fellow got four shillings for one. The Governor determined to have the rogue corrected for his abuse, and meeting with him soon after, told him he must take a letter to Boston for him, and gave him a crown for his service. The letter was directed to the keeper of the Bridewell, ordering him to give the bearer so many lashes; but mistrusting that all was not exactly agreeable, and meeting the Governor's servant on the road, ordered him, in the name of *his master,* to carry the letter immediately, as he was in haste

to return. The consequence was, the servant was tied up and received the number of lashes. The Governor felt no little chagrin, at being thus twice outwitted by the Indian. Falling in with him, sometime after, the Governor asked him by what means he had cheated and deceived him so many times? He answered, pointing with his finger 'to his head, '*Head-work, Coponoh, head-work!*' The Governor was now so well pleased that he forgave the whole offence.

Two Indian chiefs being in England attracted great attention. Being asked their opinion of religion, or of what religion they were, one made answer, that they had no priest in their country, or established religion, for they thought, that, upon a subject where there was no possibility of peoples' agreeing in opinion, and as it was altogether a matter of mere opinion, 'it was best that every one should paddle his canoe his own way.' A missionary, residing among a certain tribe of Indians, was one day, after he had been preaching to them, invited by their chief to visit his wigwam. After having been kindly entertained, and being about to depart, the chief took him by the hand and said, 'I have very bad squaw. She had two little children. One she loved well, the other she hated. In a cold night, when I was gone hunting, she shut it out of the wigwam, and it froze to death. What punishment must she have?' The missionary replied, 'she must be hanged.' 'Ah!' said the chief, 'go then, and hang your God, whom you make just like her.'

NOTE.—This sketch of the character and manners of the Indians is taken partly from writers who have described them as they now exist on the continent, and partly from the early historians among the colonists.

The prominent and essential features of the Indian character, where it is still allowed to display itself, are the same now that they were two centuries ago. Certain peculiarities, undoubtedly, may now, as then, be observed in particular tribes, from the effect of situation or other local circumstances, and some exceptions to the account in the text of their religious ceremonies, and of the appellations of their rulers and priests, may probably be found; but the description will, in general, equally apply to the natives as they were seen by our forefathers, to those seen by the author while in the American Army, and to those still remaining in the land.

Among the principal nations of Indians in New England at the first settlement of the country by our ancestors were the *Wampanoags*, otherwise called *Pokanokets*. They occupied the whole colony of Plymouth, a part of Massachusetts, the Islands of Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard, Cape Cod, and

a part of Rhode Island, Mount Hope in Bristol being the seat of their chieftains. The Chief or Prince of this tribe was *Massasoit*, otherwise written *Ma-sas-se-it*, *Massasoyt*, or *Massasoyet*. It was customary among the native chiefs to assume different names when any great exploit was about to be performed, or on other occasions as caprice or fancy might dictate; accordingly we find that Massasoit assumed the following; *Wosamequin*, *Osamekin*, *Owsamequin*, or *Ousamequin*.

Massasoit was the most renowned, and the most meritorious chief of his time, and a firm friend to the English settlers daring his life. He was not famed so much for war exploits, as for his mild, humane and peaceable disposition, for his love of his people, and moderation of government. Dignified in his conduct and manners, and wise in his policy, his dominion and influence were extended over many neighboring tribes, who acknowledged him as their tutelar father and protector, depending on his authority to sanction all their expeditions and adjust all their difficulties. Massasoit, was the earliest and most generous friend of the Plymouth Pilgrims. His grant of an extensive territory made to the first settlers, when entire strangers, was a noble act of friendship, and his fidelity to the famous treaty of 1621, during the continuance of his life, and then transferring the same obligation to his sons, form an instance of moral and political virtue little to be expected from an uncivilized chieftain. When the Pilgrims landed on the shore they took possession of a portion of Massasoit's country called Patuxet, now Plymouth. It may be supposed that this intrusion of strangers excited a share of anxiety as well as of curiosity in the mind of the chief, and it required a degree of wisdom and prudence to determine the course to be pursued. In March, 1621, the King sent a petty chief named *Samoset*, who had been a captive in England, to make observations on the new comers. He entered abruptly among the English and addressed them in their own language. About five days afterwards, Massasoit presented himself accompanied with 60 men with bows and arrows, but approached with great caution, stopping on Strawberry hill within view of the settlers. Governor Carver sent Mr. Edward Winslow to hold conversation with him, carrying presents for the king and his brother *Quadequina*, who was with him. Massasoit was well pleased with this interview, and Mr. Winslow agreed to remain as a hostage in the hands of Quadequina while the king was conducted to an interview with Governor Carver, who received him with drum and pipe, and with much favor and respect, and treated him with the best refreshments in his power. The two personages kissed

each other and a treaty of mutual benefit was at once concluded. (See page 35.) In July following, Mr. Winslow and Stephen Hopkins with *Squanto* for interpreter visited Massasoit at Pokanoket, carrying for his acceptance a trooper's red laced coat, and a copper chain.

This interview was exceedingly pleasing to both parties, and the king's pride was greatly elated by his new coat and chain, and his people were equally well pleased with the proud appearance of their king. In 1623, Massasoit was seized with sickness which brought him to the brink of the grave. On this occasion he was visited by his good friend, Mr. Edward Winslow, and Mr. John Hampden. Mr. Winslow, with extraordinary kindness and skill, ministered to his relief, and performed almost a miraculous cure, which laid a foundation for a lasting friendship for his benefactor and for the English in general. In gratitude for this favor he informed Mr. Winslow of a combination of Indians for the destruction of the English settlers. Not a single incident recorded by any writer to the disparagement of his character has ever come to our knowledge. It was by his consummate sagacity, and the intrinsic dignity and energy of his character, and the kind qualities of his heart, that he was enabled to control the extravagant passions of his savage people, and win their personal confidence and affection. There appears to have been no record of the precise date of Massasoit's death. Hubbard supposes that he died about 1656; others say 1669; but as late as May 21st, 1661, his name is found in the records of the United Colonies.* He must have been at that time about 80 years of age, and we know of no mention of him after that date. He is supposed to have acted as chief Sagamore, over the Wampanoag tribe during 50 years or more, and in that station he evinced a correct judgment, prudence, and a benevolent mind. But he ever manifested a great aversion to the Christian religion; no reasoning or persuasion, could induce him to forsake the idolatry of his fathers, and he enjoined on his children to remain steadfast to their own religion. Massasoit and his neighbors, the Narragansets, were implacable enemies, and the Narragansets being by far the most powerful, Massasoit was much indebted to the English, whose guns awed them into a peaceable behavior, and he appeared to be sensible of his obligations.

In 1639, Massasoit, or Ousamequin (as then called,) and his eldest son Wamsutta, afterwards called Alexander, came to the court at Plymouth, on the 25th of September, and desired

* Drake's Indian Biography.

that the ancient treaty which had been made in 1621, might remain inviolable, to which they promised that they would faithfully adhere. The Sachem, and his son, did also promise to the court that they would not heedlessly, and unjustly raise any quarrels, or do any wrongs to other natives to provoke them to war; and that he or they shall not give, sell, or convey any of his or their lands, territories or possessions to any person or persons without the knowledge or consent of the government of Plymouth. These conditions, the said Ousamequin, and his son, for themselves, and their successors, did faithfully promise to observe and keep; and the whole court, in the name of the whole Government, and people, did then ratify and confirm the aforesaid ancient league and confederacy; and did also further promise to the said Sachem, and his son, and his successors, that they will from time to time, defend them and their successors, against all such as shall rise up against them to wrong or oppress them unjustly. Thus this chief, from extreme anxiety, to preserve a firm and lasting peace with his English neighbors, not only for himself, but for his posterity, caused his eldest son to enter into the same engagement with the English, and afterwards when his other son arrived at manhood, he was careful to enjoin the same policy on him also.

In 1649, Ousamequin sold to Captain Miles Standish, Samuel Nash, and Constant Southworth, all of Duxbury, a tract of land usually called Saughtucket, seven miles square, which comprises the town of Duxbury. The price paid to Ousamequin, was seven coats, of a yard and a half each, nine hatchets, eight hoes, twenty knives, four moose skins, and ten and a half yards of cotton cloth. The place of Massasoit's residence was Maunt Hope or Pokanoket, or Sowans, in the vicinity of Titicut on Taunton river, about 40 miles from Plymouth, but occasionally he resided at other places.

In the year 1619, Captain Thomas Dermer was sent out from England by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, on account of the President and Council of New England, in a ship of 200 tons. He had on board Squanto, a Pokanoket Indian who had been kidnapped by Captain Hunt, in 1614, and sold as a slave at Malaga. In a letter to Purchas, Capt. Dermer says, 'When I arrived at my savage's native country, finding all dead, I travelled along a day's journey to a place called Nummastaguyt, where finding inhabitants, I despatched a messenger a day's journey farther west to Pokanoket, which bordereth on the sea; whence came to see me *two kings*, attended with a guard of 50 armed men, who being well satisfied with that my savage and I discoursed unto them, gave me content in whatever I demanded.

Here I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards another at Masstechusitt, who three years since escaped shipwreck at the northeast of Cape Cod.* The two Indian kings were probably Massasoit and his brother Quadequina as they resided at Pokanoket.

Much of the detail relative to the character of Massasoit has been given in other pages of this volume.

The *Pequots* inhabited the most *southern* part of New England which comprehended what is now the state of Connecticut. They were once 'a very war-like and potent people.' Their chief Sachem was *Sassacus*, whose name was terrible to all the neighboring tribes till the English, by the assistance of the Mohegans and Narragansets, vanquished the whole tribe in the year 1637. The scene of this Pequot war was in the town of Groton in Connecticut where the Indians had fortified themselves in the strongest manner. They had murdered Captains Stone, Norton, and Oldham, before the English determined to subdue them. In the summer of 1637 Connecticut and Massachusetts united their forces, the former under Capt. John Mason, and the latter under Capt. Israel Stoughton, and the expedition was commenced. Capt. Underhill being stationed at Saybrook fort, shared in the attack. The English forces consisted of seventy-seven men and were joined by 500 Indians. On the 26th of May before day-light they arrived at the Indian fort while all within were asleep in their wigwams, and the barking of a dog awakened them to receive the naked swords of their foe. The English entered the fort sword in hand, and according to Capt. Mason's history, the Indians in their terrible surprise made but a feeble resistance, their cry was '*Owanux! Owanux! Englishmen! Englishmen!*' Instantly on entering the fort the English began their slaughter, sparing not women or children, following them from wigwam to wigwam, they put them to the sword while endeavoring to hide themselves, and no mercy was shown them. At length fire was put to their wigwams, and the flames spreading rapidly over the whole fort, the wounded, the dead, and the helpless were consumed in one awful conflagration. Many who attempted to escape the flames were shot down by those who were stationed on the outside for that purpose. The number of miserable wretches who perished in this terrible conflict was about 600;* of the English two only were killed and about twenty wounded. *Sassacus*, himself being in another fort fled to the Mohawks, by whom he was beheaded. Captain Stoughton according to Mason's account

* Were the savages ever guilty of a more barbarous act than this?

gained but little credit in this affair. He addressed the Governor of Massachusetts as follows. 'By this pinnace, you shall receive forty-eight or fifty women and children, unless there stay any here to be helpful, &c. There is one, I formerly mentioned, that is the fairest and largest I saw amongst them, to whom I have given a coat to clothe her. It is my desire to have her for a servant if it may stand with your good liking, else not. There is a little squaw that Steward Culacut desireth, to whom he hath given a coat. Lieut. *Davenport* also desireth one, to wit, a small one, that hath three strokes upon her stomach, thus:—III +. He desireth her if it stand with your good liking. *Sosoman*, the Indian, desireth a young little squaw, which I know not.' Shortly after the termination of the war the Pequots appeared no more as a nation.

The *Narragansets*, possessed the country about Narraganset Bay, including Rhode Island, and other Islands in that vicinity, and a part of Connecticut. *Canonicus* was their great warrior Sachem. This tribe is described by our early historians 'as a great people;' capable of raising 4000 warriors. *Canonicus* lived to an advanced age, and died according to Gov. Winthrop, June 4th, 1647. He discovered a generous mind in receiving Rev. Roger Williams when in great distress, and affording him a friendly protection. Mr. Williams mentioned his name with respect and acknowledged his obligation to him thus in a manuscript letter to the Governor of Massachusetts. After observing that many hundreds of the English were witnesses to the friendly disposition of the *Narragansets*, he says: 'Their late long lived *Canonicus* so lived and died in the same most honorable manner and solemnity (in their way) as you laid to sleep your prudent peace-maker Mr. Winthrop, did they honor this their prudent and peaceable prince; yea, through all their towns and countries how frequently do many and oft times of Englishmen travel alone with safety and loving kindness?' On one occasion *Canonicus* thus addressed Roger Williams: 'I have never suffered any wrong to be done to the English since they landed, nor never will. If the English speak true, if he mean truly, then shall I go to my grave in peace, and I hope that the English and my posterity shall live in love and peace together.' 'His heart,' says Mr. Williams, 'was stirred up to love me as his son to the last gasp.' However partial *Canonicus* may have been to Rev. Mr. Williams, he was not uniformly friendly to the settlers in general. It appears in Gov. Winslow's Good News from New England, that in February, 1622, this chief sent into Plymouth, a bundle of arrows bound together with a rattle snake's skin. This was received

as it was intended, a challenge for war. Gov. Bradford filled the rattle-snake skin with powder and shot and returned it to *Canonicus*, with a message of defiance which produced the desired effect. *Canonicus* was so frightened that he dared not touch the article and soon returned it to Plymouth and became silent and peaceable. (See page 45 of this vol.)

Potok, according to Mr. Drake in his Indian Biography, was a chief of the Narragansets, who was a notorious opposer of the promulgation of the Christian religion among that tribe. At an English treaty, he was said to have urged that the English should not send any among them to preach the gospel, or call upon them to pray to God, but they refusing to concede to such an article, it was withdrawn. *Potok* was an active warrior in Philip's war, and was the Indian that Hubbard speaks of as a great counsellor, who informed of the number of Indians slain in the great swamp fight, and who he says was taken and executed; but according to Drake, 'he came in voluntarily, no doubt with the view of making friends again with his enemies, but was sent to Boston, where he was, after answering all their inquires, put to death without ceremony.'

Massachusetts tribe. *Chickataubut*, was a sachem of considerable note among the *Massachusetts tribe*, and one of those who, in 1621, acknowledged themselves the subjects of King James. He was Sachem of Passonagesit (Weymouth,) where his mother was buried. In Drake's Indian Biography the following is related from Thomas Morton's New Canaan. In the first settling of Plymouth, some of the company in wandering about upon discovery, came upon an Indian grave, which was of the mother of *Chikataubut*. Over the body a stake was set in the ground, and two huge bear skins sewed together spread over it; these the English took away. When this came to the knowledge of *Chikataubut*, he complained to his people and demanded immediate vengeance. When they were assembled, he thus harangued them: 'When last the glorious light of all the sky was underneath the globe and birds grew silent, I began to settle, as my custom is to take repose; before mine eyes were fast closed, me tho't I saw a vision, at which my spirit was much troubled, and trembling at that doleful sight cried aloud; Behold! my son, whom I have cherished, see the paps that gave thee suck, the hands that clasped thee warm, and fed thee oft, canst thou forget to take revenge on those wild people that hath my monument defaced in a despiteful manner; disdaining our ancient antiquities, and honorable customs. See now the Sachem's grave lies, like unto the common people of ignoble race, defaced. Thy mother doth complain, implores

thy aid against this thievish people newly come hither; if this be suffered I shall not rest in quiet within my everlasting habitation.' Battle was the unanimous resolve, and the English were watched and followed from place to place, until at length as some were going ashore in a boat, they fell upon them, but gained little advantage. After maintaining the fight for some time, and being driven from tree to tree, the chief captain was wounded in the arm and the whole took to flight. This action caused the natives about Plymouth to look upon the English as invincible, and was the reason that peace was maintained so long after."

When Boston was settled *Chikataubut* visited Governor *Winthrop*, and presented him with a hog'shead of corn. Many of his 'sanops and squaws' came with him, but were most of them sent away after they had all dined, *Chikataubut* probably fearing they would be burdensome, although it thundered and rained and the Governor urged their stay. At this time he wore English clothes, and sat at the Governor's table, where he behaved himself soberly, &c. as an Englishman. "Not long after he called on Governor *Winthrop* and desired to buy of him a suit of clothes for himself, the governor informed him that 'English Sagamores did not use to truck;' but he called his tailor and gave him orders to make him a suit of clothes; whereupon he gave the governor two large skins of coat beaver. The clothes being ready, the governor put him into a very good new suit from head to foot, and after, he set meat before them; but he would not eat till the governor had given thanks, and after meat he desired him to do the like, and so departed."

Awashonks. This personage was a female chief, or Squaw Sachem, of Sogkonate, situated at the northeast side of the Narraganset bay. She seems to have possessed considerable abilities and great influence over her own and neighboring tribes. In her territories Mr. B. Church, afterwards Captain Church took up a temporary residence and formed an acquaintance with this chief, by whom he was held in great respect.

In July, 1671, *Awashonks* entered into articles of agreement with the Plymouth court, to which she subscribed her hand in presence of Samuel Barker and John Almy, and she was required to surrender her arms in ten days. In August following she addressed a letter to Governor Prince as follows :

'August 11th, 1671. Honored Sir, I have received a very great favor from your Honor, in yours of the 7th instant, and as you are pleased to signify, that if I continue faithful to the agreement made with yourselves at Plymouth, I may expect all just favors from your Honor, I am fully resolved, while I live,

with all fidelity to stand to my engagement, and in a peaceable submission to your commands, according to the best of my poor ability. It is true, and I am very sensible thereof, that there are some Indians who do seek an advantage against me, for my submitting to his Majesty's authority in your jurisdiction, but being conscious to myself of my integrity and real intentions of peace, I doubt not but you will afford me all due encouragement and protection. I had resolved to send in all my guns, being six in number, according to the intimation of my letter; but two of them were so large, the messengers were not able to carry them. I since proffered to leave them with Mr. *Barker*, but he not having any order to receive them, told me he conceived I might do well to send them to Mr. *Almy*, who is a person concerned in the jurisdiction, which I resolved to do; but since then an Indian, known by the name of *Broad-faced Will*, stole one of them out of the wigwam in the night, and has run away with it to Mount Hope; the other I think to send to Mr. *Almy*. A list of those that are obedient to me, and, I hope and am persuaded, faithful to you, is here enclosed. Honored Sir, I shall not trouble you farther, but desiring your peace and prosperity, in which I look at my own to be included,

I remain, your unfeigned servant,

AWASUNCKS.'

To this letter the Governor replied with some expressions of disapprobation, and closed with good advice and caution. In the spring of the year 1675, King Philip, preparing for war against the English, sent six messengers arrayed in warlike dress to negotiate with Awashonks, to unite her forces with his in the war. She immediately assembled her counsellors and ordered a great war dance. She complimented Mr. Church with an invitation to be present on this great occasion. He took with him a man who was acquainted with the Indian language and repaired to the place where he found a large number of people and Awashonks herself in a foaming sweat leading the dance; but on his arrival she stopped short and having seated herself she ordered her chiefs into her presence, and then informed Mr. Church that Philip had sent six of his men to urge her to join him in the war, pretending that the Plymouth people were raising a great army to invade his country, and she applied to him for the truth of it. Church assured her that there was no foundation for the report, and that he believed war was not thought of amongst the head men at Plymouth. She then ordered Philip's messengers into her presence, and informed them of what Church had said, at which they were much offended, and a warm talk ensued. Church was so unguarded as to ad-

wise Awashonks to put to death the six messengers, and put herself under the protection of the English. She refused to adopt this rash advice, and a tumult was excited; one of her men, called *Little-Eyes*, attempted to murder Church, but was prevented. The chief, however, thanked Church for his information and advice, and agreed to put herself under the protection of the English, and desired him to repair to Plymouth to make the necessary arrangements. But before this could be completed, the war was commenced by Philip, and the benevolent Awashonks was unhappily involved in it as her only alternative. This was a source of great grief to Capt. Church, as he was well aware that she entertained no partiality or attachment to Philip, and he resolved to avail himself of the first favorable opportunity to attempt to detach her from his interest. The war operations for a long time prevented his carrying his plan into execution. When at length he communicated to a few friends his determination to visit Awashonks, and applied to the government of Rhode Island for a permit, they were astonished at his presumption and refused to grant him permission, deeming it madness in him thus to throw away his valuable life. He wished to take with him a man who was versed in the Indian language, but the government utterly refused him that liberty. Firm in his daring resolution, he took his own man and two friendly Indians only, and providing himself with a bottle of *rum* and a roll of *tobacco*, departed for the camp of Awashonks at Sogkonate, now Woods-Hole. The chief had been apprised of his intention, and the few Indians which he first met gave him their hands in token of friendship; they pointed to a retired place to hold a consultation, which he had no sooner reached, than he found himself entirely encompassed by a body of armed savages, who rose up from the high grass and bushes where they had been placed. These warriors were in complete warlike array with their faces painted and hair trimmed. None but a heart of adamant, one would suppose, could withstand such an awful scene. But Church, with uncommon presence of mind and a stern countenance, addressed himself to Awashonks, saying that he understood she desired to see him about making peace with the English. She said, 'yes.' Church then desired that her men might lay aside their arms, as was customary while discoursing of peace. This was immediately complied with, but caused much murmuring in their ranks. Having set down together, Church produced his *bottle of rum*, and drank to the chief and passed it to her; but she desired him to drink again, and watched him narrowly to see whether he swallowed; he assured her that there was no poison in it, and she then partook freely of the contents

of the bottle, and passed it among her attendants. The tobacco being next distributed, all appeared to be happy, and to unite in social glee. But this was soon interrupted by a lusty fellow, who of a sudden approached and raised his war-club to beat out the brains of Mr. Church, but he was seized and his club wrested from him. His plea was, that his brother had been killed in battle, and that Church was the man who killed him, and he would have his blood; but Church explained and endeavored to pacify him. An agreement was now concluded, and Awashonks agreed to serve the English 'in whatever way she was able,' provided 'Plymouth would firmly engage to them, that they and all of them with their wives and children should have their lives spared, and none of them transported out of the country. The chief captain now came forward, and expressed the great respect which he had for Captain Church, and said, 'Sir, if you will please to accept of me and my men, and will head us, we will fight for you, and will help you to Philip's head before the Indian corn be ripe.' The result of these transactions was a lasting friendship between Awashonks and Captain Church and the English government.

Coumbilant, or *Corbilant*. This distinguished Sachem resided at Mattapoyst, on a neck of land in the present town of Swansea, or Rochester. He was considered as inimical to the English settlers, viewing them as intruders and enemies to his race, and being well aware that should the English be permitted to obtain a permanent possession of the country, the natives must eventually abandon it or be altogether extirpated. It does not appear that this Sachem was in any way endowed with powerful means of warfare. In the first part of this volume will be found some account of this Sachem, as related by Governor Winslow, who visited him in his cabin.

The *Nausets* were a small tribe occupying Cape Cod. Their Sachem was *Aspinet*. He manifested his friendly disposition to the English settlers as early as July, 1621, when John Billington, a boy, was lost in the woods. See page 41.

Canonchet, was a head Sachem of the Narragansets, and a great warrior. He commanded a party of Indians in 1675, who killed Capt. Pierce, of Scituate, and most of his company. Soon after this exploit, he was captured by Capt. Denison, of Stonington. When a youthful soldier of the company came up to him and asked several questions,—'You too much child, no understand matters of war,' said the Sachem; 'let your captain come, him I will answer.' When informed that it was determined to put him to death, he said, 'He liked it well, that he should die before his heart was soft, or he had spoken any thing unworthy himself.'

There was one instance which occurred in about 1630, in which the Indians manifested extreme kindness of feeling towards the English. 'Richard Garrett, and several others, from Boston, were shipwrecked on Cape Cod. Some of them died of their hardships. The Indians buried the dead with much difficulty, the ground being hard frozen, and literally nursed the survivors back to life; and after curing and strengthening them, secured the remains of their dead companions against wild beasts, and then guided them fifty miles through the woods to Plymouth.'—(*Baylies.*)

Alexander, was the immediate successor of his father, Ousamequia, and inherited his dominions and his seat at Mount Hope; but he was devoid of his father's good qualities, and his career was short, and his end disastrous. All that is known of his life and character, is comprised in the following unfortunate transaction. It appears that in the year 1662, Alexander had given cause to suspect, not only that he was unfriendly, but that he was actually contriving mischief against the English; and, moreover, according to report, he had solicited the Narragansets to engage with him in his designed rebellion. Hereupon Captain Willet, who lived near to Mount Hope, was appointed to confer with him, and to desire him to attend the next court in Plymouth for their satisfaction, and his own vindication; he seemed to take the message in good part, professing that the Narragansets, who he said were his enemies, had put an abuse upon him, and he readily promised to attend at the next court. But when the day for his appearance arrived, he went over to the Narragansets, his pretended enemies. This circumstance could not but increase the suspicion of his unfaithfulness, and the Governor and Magistrates ordered Major Josiah Winslow to take a party of armed men and bring Alexander to Plymouth for examination. The Major accordingly took ten men from Marshfield, intending to add to his number in the towns nearer to Mount Hope. But when they were about midway between Plymouth and Bridgewater, at a hunting house, they found Alexander and many of his men, (Hubbard says eighty,) well armed, but their guns were outside of the house. Major Winslow, having possessed himself of the Indians' arms, entered the house and accosted the Sachem, and made him acquainted with his instructions. He fell into a raging passion, and insisted that the Governor had no reason to credit rumors, and to send for him in that manner, nor would he go to Plymouth but when he saw cause. The Major replied, that his breach of word touching his appearance at Plymouth court, and at the same time going to the Narragansets, his pretended enemies, in-

creased the jealousy concerning him. In the firmest tone, Major Winslow commanded the Sachem to submit to his orders, promising him kind treatment if he complied, but with a pistol at his breast, threatening him with instant death if he again refused. Upon this, his interpreter, a discreet Indian, knowing his Sachem's passionate disposition, interposed and prevailed on him to submit, requesting only that he might go like a Sachem, attended by his men, which, though hazardous, was granted. The weather being hot, the Major offered him the use of a horse; but his squaw and other Indian women being in company, he said he could go on foot as well as they, provided that the horses might be made to conform with the slow step of those on foot. The party rested several times by the way, and Alexander and his Indians were refreshed with food by the English; and the royal prisoner was treated with all proper respect and attention. Having arrived at Marshfield, Major Winslow, instead of sending him to prison, took him and his train to his own house, and afforded them entertainment till Governor Prince could arrive from his residence at Eastham. 'Yet,' says Dr. I. Mather, 'proud Alexander, vexing and fretting in his spirit that such a check was imposed on him, he suddenly fell sick of a fever.' When sick, he was nursed in the tenderest manner, and Dr. Fuller was desired to prescribe for his relief. But, as his sickness continued, he was, by the desire of his friends, permitted to return home, on engaging to appear at the next court at Plymouth. Soon after his return, (but according to Hubbard before he got half way home,) he died. The foregoing is the purport of Dr. I. Mather's account of this transaction, and the same is corroborated, without essential variation, by Hubbard's history of New England. But it has since appeared, that there was a document in reserve, which places this unhappy affair in a different point of light.

The document referred to is a letter, but without date, written by the Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, to Dr. Mather, which has recently been published by Judge Davis, in his edition of Morton's Memorial, page 426, and is as follows:

'Major Bradford (who was with Mr. Winslow when Alexander was surprised) confidently assures me, that in the narrative of *de Alexandro*, there are many mistakes, and fearing lest you should, through mis-information, print some mistakes on that subject, from his mouth I this write. Reports being here, that *Alexander* was plotting, or privy to plots against the English, authority sent him to come down. He came not. Whereupon Major *Winslow* was sent to fetch him. Major Bradford with some others went with him. At Munponset river, a place

not many miles hence they found *Alexander*, with about eight men and sundry squaws. He was there about getting canoes. He and his men were at breakfast under their shelter, their guns being without. They saw the English coming, but continued eating; and Mr. Winslow telling their business, Alexander freely and readily without the least hesitancy consented to go; giving his reason why he came not to the court before, viz: because he waited for Captain Willet's return from the Dutch, being desirous to speak with him first. They brought him to Mr. Collier's that day, and Governor Prince living remote, at Eastham, those few magistrates who were at hand issued the matter peaceably and immediately dismissed Alexander to return home, which he did part of the way; but in two or three days after, he returned and went to Major Winslow's house, intending thence to travel into the Bay and so home; but at the Major's house he was taken very sick, and was by water, conveyed to Major Bradford's, and thence carried upon the shoulders of his men to Tetequit river, and thence in canoes home, and in about two or three days after died.'

The discrepancy between the contents of Mr. Cotton's letter and the narrative which Dr. Mather had formerly published, appears altogether irreconcilable, and it will be found difficult for the historian to transmit to posterity a just and satisfactory statement of all the circumstances pertaining to this subject.

King Philip and Philip's War.—*Philip*, alias *Metacomet* was the second son of Massasoit, and after the death of his brother Alexander in 1662, he succeeded as chief of the Wampanoags. He occupied the celebrated place called Montaup, or Mount Hope in the vicinity of Bristol, Rhode Island. This eminence is very steep on all sides, and a huge rock of a singular form is attached to the mountain, having the appearance of an immense dome. Philip inherited many good traits of the character of Massasoit his father, but to these were superadded the noble qualities of a bold and courageous warrior, and his popularity was so great, that when the Pokanoket government was conferred on him, a multitude of his Sachems and people assembled, and the event was celebrated by uncommon rejoicings and revelry. According to a received tradition King Philip went in 1665 to Nantucket with his retinue to kill an Indian by the name of John Gibbs, for committing sacrilege in mentioning the name of a deceased Sachem contrary to the Indian laws. He landed at the west end of the Island, intending to travel along shore to the east part of the Island where the criminal lived, who, having got information from one of his friends, fled to town and was concealed by Thomas Macy. The English

inhabitants then assembled, held a treaty with Philip and bought of him the criminal, and gave all the money that there was on the Island at that time, being 19 shillings, and the King returned in peace and was satisfied. One of the earliest measures of King Philip was, to appear with his uncle before the Plymouth court, following the example of his father and brother. (See page 119.) "He expressed an earnest wish for the continuance of peace and amity; and pledged himself, as the court did also upon the other hand, to use all suitable measures for effecting that desirable purpose. For several years after this, the intercourse between the two parties went on, ostensibly, as it had done in former times, though probably not without some distrust upon both sides. The first public interruption of this harmony occurred in 1671, during which season Philip was heard to complain, openly, of certain encroachments by the English upon his hunting grounds.

About the same time, rumors were circulated that his subjects frequently assembled at various places in unwonted numbers; and were repairing their guns, and sharpening their hatchets. The Plymouth Government were alarmed. They sent messengers to communicate with the Massachusetts Government, and at the same time other messengers to Philip, not "to fetch him before the courts," as in the case of his brother, but to ascertain his intentions. He seems to have paid a dignified regard to this measure. On the 10th of April, a message was received from him, inviting the officers of the Plymouth Government to a conference. It was received by the latter at Taunton, where also were several gentlemen, despatched by the Massachusetts Government, with instructions to mediate between the contending parties. Governor Prince, of Plymouth, sent word back to Philip, who was tarrying meanwhile at what is now called Three-mile river, about four miles from Taunton Green—that he was heartily disposed to treat with him, and expected that the Sachem would come forward for that purpose; and his personal safety was guaranteed in case he should do so. Philip so far complied with the request, as to advance a considerable distance nearer the village. He then stationed himself at a place called Crossman's Mill, placed sentinels on a hill in his rear, and again despatched messengers to the Governor, desiring an interview. This the town's people, who could scarcely be restrained from falling forthwith upon the Indian party, would not permit. At last the Massachusetts Commissioners, volunteering to take the supposed hazard upon themselves, went to Philip and persuaded him to consent to a conference. This was on condition that his men

should accompany him, and that the business should be done in the meeting-house, one side of which was to be reserved for the Wampanoags, and the other for the English. The council took place agreeably to these arrangements, in the old meeting-house of Taunton. The English stood upon one side, solemn and stern in countenance, as they were formal in garb; and opposite to them, a line of Indian warriors, arrayed for battle; their long black hair hanging about their necks, and their eyes gleaming covertly with a flame of suspicion and defiance scarcely to be suppressed. Philip alone was their orator. He denied that he entertained any hostile design against the English, and promptly explained his preparations for war, as intended for defence against the Narragansets.* But such arguments and evidence was produced as to prove his assertions to be entirely false.* This greatly surprised and intimidated him, and he then affected to admit all that was alleged against him, and though he refused to make compensation for past aggressions, he and four of his counsellors subscribed an acknowledgment that he had violated and broken the covenant by which his father and brother before him submitted themselves to the King's Majesty of England, and to the Colony of New Plymouth, by taking up arms against them. After making a proper confession of his unfaithfulness and folly, he solemnly renewed the covenant with his ancient friends, and the friends of his father, and as a pledge of his future faithfulness, he agreed to resign up to the government of New Plymouth all his Englisharms, to be kept for their security, so long as they might see reason.

There can be no doubt but Philip had, at the time of signing this confession, war with the English in contemplation, and that the confession was a mere finesse that he might gain time to complete his preparations.

In August of the same year, Philip made a visit to the Massachusetts government, who he knew were umpires, in this affair, and had the address to press on them the belief, that he had no hostile designs against the English, and the parties then agreed to the following articles of accommodation, September 19th, 1671.

1. We, Philip and my council, and my subjects do acknowledge ourselves subject to his Majesty the King of England, and the government of New Plymouth and to their laws.

* For the above quotation, I am indebted to a very respectable work, entitled "Lives of the Indians, by B. B. Thacher, Esq." Vol. i. p. 146.

2. I am willing and promise to pay unto the government of Plymouth one hundred pounds in such things as I have; but I would entreat the favor, that I may have three years to pay it in, for as much as I cannot do it at present.

3. I do promise to send unto the governor, or whom he shall appoint, five wolves' heads, if I can get them, or as many as I can procure until they come to five wolves yearly.

4. If any difference fall between the English and my people, then I do promise to repair to the governor of Plymouth to rectify the difference between us.

5. I do promise not to make war with any of the Indian tribes, but with the governor of Plymouth's approbation.

6. I promise not to dispose of any of the lands that I have at present, but by the approbation of the Governor of Plymouth. For the true performance of the promises, I do hereby bind myself, and such of my council as are present, ourselves, our heirs and our successors, faithfully, in witness thereof we have hereunto subscribed our hands, the day and year above written.

PHILIP and three others subscribed
to the above by their marks.

*In presence of the Court and
divers Magistrates, &c.*

It was not probably long after the foregoing agreement, that Philip addressed to Governor Prince the following letter, though it is without date.

To the much honored governor mr. *thomas* prince dwelling at plimouth.
honored Sir

King philip desires to let you understand that he could not come to the court for tom his interpreter has a pain in his back that he could not travel so far, and philip's sister is very sick. philip would intreat that favor of you and any of the majestates if any english or engians speak about any land he pray you to give them no answer at all the last summer he made that promise with you that he would not sell no land in seven years time for that he would have no english trouble him before that time he has not forgot that you promise him he will come asune as possible he can to speak with you and so I rest your very loving friend philip dwelling at mount hope nek.

The late Isaac Lothrop, Esq., of Plymouth possessed the above original letter from Philip, which was probably penned by Sassaman his secretary. It was published in the Massachu-

setts Magazine, for 1789. *Judge Davis's ed. of Memorial*, page 288.

All these precautions however served but to protract the commencement of the contest, it having become perfectly evident that either one or the other of the parties must very shortly acquire the supreme dominion; and that either the white or the red people must yield.

Of the war which ensued, and which is so well known in the history of the Colonies as *Philip's War*, we have the authority of Church, Hubbard, Mather, and others for the following details.

There appears to have been no open hostile preparations, nor interruption of harmonious intercourse between the parties during the period of two or three years after signing the foregoing agreement by Philip, 'but during that time,' says Mr. Baylies, 'Philip had the enterprise to undertake, and the address to mature one of the greatest plans that was ever conceived by a savage, for the purpose of exterminating the English; it proposed a general union amongst the Indians of New England;—of this confederacy he was to be chief. Though the Sachem of a petty tribe, he raised himself to a prouder eminence than was ever attained by the aboriginal race in North America. The Narragansets had engaged to join Philip with their whole strength which amounted to an effective force of 4000 warriors. The spring of 1676, was the period fixed for commencing this great undertaking, but the plot was prematurely developed, and Philip was forced to commence the war before he was prepared, and under many disadvantages.'

The first open hostilities were caused by the tragical fate of John Sassamon. He was one of the praying Indians who had received a tolerable education, was employed as an Indian preacher and schoolmaster. According to Hubbard, he was 'a cunning and plausible Indian well skilled in the English language.' He possessed however but little stability, and left the English on account of some dissatisfaction and joined Philip. Dr. I. Mather says that 'apostatizing from the profession of Christianity he lived like a heathen in the capacity of Secretary to King Philip.' But it was not long before he deserted his post and returned again to the English bearing with him such evident signs of repentance, that he was reconciled to the praying Indians, and baptised, and received as a member into one of the Indian churches; 'yea' says Mather, 'and employed as an instructor amongst them every Lord's day.' Sassamon being the confidential Secretary of Philip, was doubtless entrusted with his secrets, and he informed the governor of the Sachem's

hostile intentions, and of the plot which was ripening for the extermination of the English; but enjoining the strictest secrecy, well aware that his life would be the forfeit if detected by Philip. The Governor and his council, resolved to send for the Sachem to appear at Plymouth, that inquiry might be made into the truth of the allegations. But he did not think proper to obey the summons, and it was soon discovered that Sassamon was murdered. His body was found under the ice in Assawomset pond in Middleborough; his hat and gun were left on the ice to prevent suspicion, but the body being taken up and examined the neck was found broken, and other marks of violence were discovered. An Indian named Tobias, one of Philip's counsellors, his son, and another Indian were apprehended as the perpetrators of the murder. They were tried at a court holden at Plymouth in June 1675, six grave Indians being on the jury. The culprits were found guilty, condemned and executed at Plymouth. One of them before his execution confessed himself guilty, but the other two denied all knowledge of the act to their last breath. There was one point of evidence given by Rev. Dr. I. Mather, that would not at the present day, have the smallest influence with any jury. 'When Tobias,' says the learned Divine, *'came near the body, it fell a bleeding on fresh, as it had been newly slain; albeit, it was buried a considerable time before that.'** Here the reader may pause while I offer the following from Mr. Drake's Indian Biography, (new edition.) 'It is an error that the jury that found them guilty were half Indians.' He cites from the records as follows:— 'It was judged very expedient by the court, that, together with this English jury above named, some of the most indifferent, grave and sage Indians should be admitted to be with the said jury, and to help to consult and advise with, of and concerning the premises: their names are as followeth, viz: one called by an English name Hope, and Maskippague, Wannoo, George Wampye and Acanootus; these fully concurred with the said jury in their verdict.' The names of the white men composing the jury were William Sabine, William Crocker, Edward Sturgis, William Brooks, Nathaniel Winslow, John Wadsworth, Andrew Ringe, Robert Vixon, John Done, Jonathan Bangs, Jonathan Shaw, and Benjamin Higgins.

Thus it appears that the jury was composed of twelve white men conjointly with four Indians. Their verdict was, 'Wee of the jury one and all, both English and Indians doe jointly

* The body was buried and after some days disinterred that it might be more particularly examined.

and with one consent agree upon a verdict.' 'This execution so exasperated King Philip, that from that day after he studied to be revenged on the English, judging that the English authority had nothing to do to hang an Indian for killing another.'

It was the intention of Philip that the war should take place the next year, when he and his allies would be fully prepared; but immediately after the above unhappy event, great preparations were made on both sides for a sanguinary warfare. Early in the spring of 1675, the Pokanokets were observed in arms about Mount Hope, and the neighboring tribes were collecting, and it was not long before a party of Indians offered some insult to an Englishman at Swansey, who discharged his musket and wounded one of them. Thus the tragedy was opened June 24th, 1675, upon a fast day, and the people were fired upon on their return from meeting by the Indians. One person was killed, and two wounded; two others, going for a surgeon, were killed, and in another part of the town six others were killed the same day. To ravage, burn and destroy, seemed now to be the design of the savage tribes. The town of Swansey, a part of Taunton, Middleborough, and Dartmouth, were soon burnt and the inhabitants dispersed. Philip had formed alliances with such numerous tribes of savages, that he was enabled to assemble a formidable force, menacing all New England with destruction. The English now resorted to all possible means for defence. In every town houses were surrounded with palisades and strongly garrisoned for the security of families, yet tragical scenes kept the inhabitants in constant alarm. Dwelling houses, although garrisoned, were consumed, and men, women and children cruelly butchered by savage hands. An armed force among the colonies was deemed indispensable, and troops were raised in the following proportion: Massachusetts Colony, 557; Plymouth, 158; Connecticut, 315. General Josiah Winslow was appointed commander-in-chief of the army, and Captain James Cudworth commanded the Plymouth forces. The instructions to General Winslow, by the commissioners of the United Colonies, were as follow:

'You are, at the time appointed, to march with all convenient speed, with the forces under your command, to the Narraganset country, or to the place where the head-quarters or chief rendezvous of the enemy is known to be. And having acquainted your officers and soldiers with your commission and power, you shall require their obedience thereunto; and see that they be governed according to rules military, that all profaneness and disorder in your camp and quarters be avoided as much as in you lyeth, and impartially punish the breaking forth thereof in any.

‘ You are to see that the worship of God be kept up and duly attended in the army, by daily prayer and invocation of his name, and preaching of his word, as you have opportunity; and the Sabbath be not profaned, but that, as much as in you lies, and the emergency of your services will admit, you take care it be duly sanctified, and your ministers respect it.

‘ You shall, by all means possible, endeavor to secure any of our English plantations, or any of the colonies, that may be pressed and endangered by the enemy, and improve your utmost care, caution and diligence, by policy and force, to discover, pursue, encounter, and, by the help of God, to vanquish and subdue the cruel, barbarous and treacherous enemy, whether Philip Sachem and his Wampanoags, or the Narragansets, his undoubted allies, or any other of their friends and abettors.

‘ In pursuance hereof, we also advise and order, that you be very careful in your marches in or near the enemy’s country, by keeping out scouts and forlorns before the army, to prevent and avoid the ambuscades of the enemy, that sentinels be at all times careful of their duty, and all soldiers be made constantly to keep their arms very fix and clean, fit for service.

‘ And that you endeavor as silently and suddenly to surprise the enemy as you can, and if possible draw or force them to engagement, and therein to do valiantly for the honor of God and our nation, and the interest of the country; and you encourage valor in any, and severely punish cowardice.

‘ That if the enemy offer treaty, you trust them not to the loss of any promising advantage; nor take their words, or subscription to any engagement, without further assurance of arms, good hostages, &c.

‘ You shall consult those commanders and gentlemen appointed to be of your council in matters of moment, when opportunity permits, for the well management of the design.

‘ You shall diligently improve your time for the speedy effecting of this expedition, and use all means possible to cut off and hinder supplies of provision to the enemy and to secure your own.

‘ That you order the commissaries for provision and stores to be careful there be no waste nor embezzlement therein, nor want of what is meet to any.

‘ And you are, from time to time, to give us full and particular intelligence of your proceedings, and how the Lord shall please to deal with you in this expedition.

General Winslow was peculiarly qualified for the important station to which he was appointed. He possessed ability and integrity, and his bravery and heroism were tempered with prudence and discretion.

A ravaging warfare was kept up by the Indians during the summer, by which several towns were destroyed, and many inhabitants slain or captured. At the close of the year 1675, the English were reduced to the dreadful alternative of an active campaign against the perfidious and powerful enemy in the depth of winter. It was no longer doubted that the Narraganset tribe was in secret alliance with Philip, and united with him in the plan to attack and destroy the whole English settlements, having become bold and open in their conduct. The commissioners of the United Colonies, deeming it of the highest importance to anticipate their enemies, and frustrate their plans, ordered that the army under General Winslow should be prepared for active service by the 10th of December. The second day of December was appointed to be 'observed and kept as a solemn day of prayer and humiliation, to supplicate the Lord's pardoning mercy and compassion towards his poor people, and for success in the endeavors for repelling the rage of the enemy.' The army consisted of from 1500 to 2000 men, including volunteers and Indians, and a troop of horse, under command of Capt. Thomas Prentice. The Massachusetts forces were divided into six companies, commanded by Captains Moseley, Gardiner, Davenport, Oliver, and Johnson, and Major Appleton. Those of Connecticut were commanded by Major Treat, who had under him Capt. Seily, Gallop, Mason, Watts, and Marshall. The Plymouth forces were commanded by Major William Bradford as chief, and Capt. John Gorham. It was unfortunate that Capt. Church, in consequence of some previous misunderstanding with the government, was prevented having a command on this occasion; but, at the particular desire of the commander-in-chief, he acted as a volunteer. The Narraganset country, in which were to be the war operations, was almost an entire wilderness, and Philip's fort was located in South Kingston, Rhode Island, in an immense swamp, in the centre of which was a piece of high land, comprising about five or six acres. The fortification was formed by high palisades encircling the whole of the high land. The palisades were encompassed by a thick and almost impenetrable hedge of fallen trees, with their branches pointing outwards, of almost a rod in width. At one corner there was an opening, where a large fallen tree was placed, rising four or five feet from the ground, but this entrance was defended by a sort of block-house, and by flankers at the sides. The common entrance into this fort was by passing on a tree which had been thrown over a body of deep water between the fort and the main land, which could be done only in single file. Within this strong enclosure, the Indians had erected

about five hundred wigwams of superior construction, intended for the winter quarters of their whole people, men, women and children. Here they had deposited a large quantity of provisions, and baskets and tubs of corn were so piled one upon another as to afford additional defence against the English bullets. It was estimated that not less than 3000 people had collected here as their safe retreat. The warriors were armed with bows and arrows, muskets and tomahawks. On the 18th of December, 1675, General Winslow's army marched to attack Philip and his Narraganset allies in their strong fort; the weather was cold and stormy, and the snow more than ankle deep on the ground. The house on their route in which they expected to quarter that night, was burnt down by the Indians before their arrival, and they were destitute of shelter during the night. At the dawn of day they resumed their march of fifteen miles, and at one o'clock reached the margin of the swamp, and having no shelter from the inclemency of the weather, and being short of provisions, they resolved to make an immediate attack. Not an Englishman was acquainted with the situation of the Indian fort; but it was their good fortune that a few days before, about thirty-five of Philip's men were captured by Capt. Moseley, among whom was one named *Peter*, who turned traitor and undertook to guide the army through the intricate paths to the seat of his Sachem. The assault commenced, the Indians at the margin of the swamp were driven to their strong hold, and the troops without regular order rushed impetuously to the barriers of the fort; the officers and men were intermixed, but they faced death with astonishing boldness and courage. The gallant Captains, Johnson and Davenport, with a number of their men, were soon seen to fall, and as one after another was swept off at the narrow passage by the enemy's fire, others supplied the place of the slain. Overwhelmed by the deadly fire, there was a momentary recoil, and the troops throwing themselves down with their faces to the ground, the bullets passed over them. Two other companies advancing, were also compelled to retreat; but animated by the exhortations and exertions of General Winslow and Major Appleton, the soldiers were rallied and again resumed the conflict. A few officers and men had now forced their way into the fort, and here commenced personal combat hand to hand. At this moment a voice was heard, '*they run! they run!*' This operated like enchantment on the English, and a general rush through the barriers ensued; the Indians were driven from their posts at all points, and from wigwam to wigwam, in great confusion. An immense slaughter took place; neither men, women nor children were spared; all

were hewn down, and the ground was encumbered with heaps of the slain. In the midst of this awful fight, fire was communicated to their wigwams, when the howlings and yells of the savages were mingled with the roar of musketry, the raging of consuming fire, and the screams of the women and children, altogether forming a scene inconceivably appalling to humanity. The battle continued for three hours with unexampled ferocity and obstinacy; quarters were neither asked nor received, but carnage and death were the order of the day. The whole army, officers and men, fought with undaunted courage; the captains led their men to the conflict, and continued at their head till they received the fatal ball. Captain Church, always brave and never inactive, by permission led the second party that entered the fort, and while within, he was struck at the same instant with three bullets from a party of the enemy. He received a severe wound on his thigh, and another slight wound, but the third bullet struck against a pair of thick woollen mittens, which were doubled in his pocket, which saved him from a third wound. For some time after the fort was in possession of the English, the combatants in various parts of the swamp continued the work of slaughter. The English being masters of the fort, it became a question whether to hold possession of it for the present, or to abandon it immediately. General Winslow and Captain Church were decidedly in favor of holding possession; as the darkness of night was approaching, the troops might find shelter in the wigwams that were not burnt, and avail themselves of the Indians' provisions, which they greatly needed. But this measure was violently and very improperly opposed by one of the Captains and a surgeon, probably from the apprehension that the Indians might rally their forces, and drive them from the fort in their turn. The surgeon asserted that unless the wounded were removed that night, it could not be effected the next day, when their wounds would be inflamed and painful; and turning to Captain Church, whose blood was then flowing from his wounds, impudently said to him, 'that if he gave such advice, he should bleed to death like a dog, before he would endeavor to staunch his blood.' It was now decided to quit the ground, which was done with some precipitation, leaving eight of their dead in the fort. It was indeed a cruel dilemma, after fighting three hours, to be compelled to march sixteen miles through the snow, and in a most boisterous night, before they could halt, and the wounded could be dressed; and it is not strange that many of the wounded died before they could reach their destined quarters. Thus ended the memorable *Narraganset Swamp Fight*; and the victory on the side of the

English was purchased at the high price of eighty men killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded. Six brave captains were killed, viz.: Davenport, Gardiner, Johnson, Gallop, Seily, and Marshall. Lieutenant Upham was mortally wounded, and Captain John Gorham, of Barnstable, died of a fever on the expedition. The number of Indians slain is uncertain; but Hubbard says it was confessed by *Potock*, a great counsellor amongst them, who was taken and executed, that seven hundred fighting men were slain, and three hundred wounded, the most of whom died. The number of old men, women and children, burnt in their wigwams, and that died from hunger and cold, must have been immense.

When General Winslow arrived at his quarters at Wickford, four hundred of his soldiers besides the wounded were rendered unfit for duty, and many of them were frost-bitten. The snow that fell during that night rendered travelling almost impracticable.

An Englishman, named Joshua Tift, a stupid, uneducated man, who had abandoned his countrymen, and deserted to the Indians, married an Indian woman, and conformed himself to their habits. This man was captured by Captain Fenner, and after confessing that he had supplied the Indians with powder and had fought on their side in the fort, was condemned to death, hung, and quartered, as a traitor. This miserable wretch was found as ignorant as an heathen, never having heard the name of *Jesus Christ*.

In the spring of 1676, a predatory warfare was kept up by Philip and his followers in various parts of the country. On the 12th of March, the garrison house of William Clark, at Eel river, in the town of Plymouth, was attacked by a party of Indians on the Sabbath, when most of the men were gone to meeting, and eleven persons were killed, and the house consumed. The house, with two or three others, had been fortified for the security of families in that neighborhood. It stood on the west side of the road, near the spot where the dwelling house of the Rev. Mr. Whitmore has recently been erected. Among the sufferers in this tragedy was a boy, who received several tomahawk wounds on the skull, and was left for dead, but he recovered, and afterwards wore a plate of silver over the wound, from which he was distinguished by the name of Silver-Headed Tom during life. Totoson and Tispequin, two noted chiefs in Philip's war, were engaged in this cruel massacre, although they had often received much kindness at Clark's house.

May 11th, the Indians made an attack on a settlement in that part of Plymouth which is now Halifax. The inhabitants being

suddenly alarmed, fled with their families; the savages burnt eleven houses and five barns; and two days after, seven houses and two barns.

Captain Church, although only a volunteer in the service, was constantly alert, even when he could not mount his horse without assistance, in consequence of his wounds. At one time a friendly Mohegan captured one of Philip's Indians, and brought him before the General. Some of the General's attendants proposed that he should be tortured, in order to elicit a discovery of the haunts of his countrymen; against this proposition Church vehemently remonstrated, and this barbarous proceeding was prevented, but the captive was given up to the Mohegan, who was permitted to put him to death. Desirous to avoid the scene, Church withdrew. The Mohegan, striking at his victim with his tomahawk, missed his blow, and the weapon escaped from his hand; the prisoner broke from his keepers, and ran directly upon Church, who was standing amongst the baggage horses. In the impulse of the moment Church seized him, but the Indian, being nearly naked, eluded his grasp, and ran on; although Church was much disabled by his wounds, he pursued, and the Indian stumbling, fell to the ground. Church seized him again, and again the Indian escaped, still pursued by Church, who at length seized him by his hair and held him fast. At this time they were at some distance from the others, and a deadly struggle commenced. The Indian was stout and athletic, and Church was weakened by his wounds; yet his indomitable spirit enabled him to maintain the contest with some equality. The ice began to crack, and steps were heard; both were uncertain whether of friend or foe. It was the Mohegan; but it was now so dark, that the combatants could not be discriminated. The Mohegan, ascertaining his victim by his nakedness, drove his tomahawk into his brains, and relieved Church from his perilous situation.

On the 11th of July, Philip attempted to surprise Taunton, but was repulsed. Captain Church was in constant pursuit of this cunning Sachem, who, in his turn, used many stratagems not only to elude, but to cut off his antagonist, and followed him from place to place without success, but with the loss of many of his people. Some soldiers from Bridgewater fell upon Philip's camp, near Taunton river, July 31st, and killed ten warriors; but Philip, having disguised himself, made his escape. His uncle, Akompoin, was among the slain, and his own sister was captured. On the 1st of August, Church attacked his head quarters, killed and took about 130 of his people, but the wily Sachem again escaped; but his wife, and son, about nine years

old, fell into the hands of Captain Church, and were brought to Plymouth. Philip, although he had lost most of his warriors and friends, and was left almost alone, had the address for a long time to elude the vigilance of his pursuers. At length, finding himself harrassed to the last extremity, in July he resorted to a thick swamp near Mount Hope for concealment, and while here, put to death one of his men for advising him to make peace.

On Saturday morning, August 12th, Captain Church approached with a party of volunteers, surrounded the swamp on all sides, and so disposed of his men as to render his escape impossible. Church then ordered Captain Golding to rush into the swamp; upon which, Philip, finding himself closely pressed on one side of the swamp, attempted to escape from the opposite, and came out where Caleb Cook, of Plymouth colony, and a Jaconet Indian, named Alderman, were posted. Cook instantly levelled his gun, but it missed fire. Alderman, whose gun was loaded with two balls, fired, and Philip, bounding from the ground, fell flat upon his face in the mud and water, with his gun under him, one of the balls having passed through his heart, and the other into his lungs.*

The barbarous usage of beheading and quartering traitors, was now executed upon the body of the unfortunate Philip. His head was brought to Plymouth on thanksgiving day in great triumph, where it was exposed to public view for more than twenty years, and one of his hands was preserved in rum by Alderman, who afterwards exhibited it through the country.

'Thus fell Metacomet,' says Mr. Baylies, 'some times called

* There is in the Historical Society's Collection, vol iv. second series, an anecdote respecting the lock of the gun with which King Philip was killed, as follows :

The late Isaac Lothrop, of Plymouth, obtained the lock of Sylvanus Cook, late of Kingston. Sylvanus was great grandson of Caleb Cook, and Caleb was the soldier placed with an Indian by Colonel Church to watch, and, if possible, kill King Philip. Cook, as the historian relates, snapped his gun, but it missed fire. He then bade the Indian fire; and he instantly shot him through the heart. The tradition is, that Cook, having a strong desire to possess the gun with which Philip was killed, prevailed on the Indian to exchange guns with him; and the fortunate gun has been preserved in the family of the Cooks to the present time. When the great grandson consented that Mr. Lothrop should take the lock, he retained the other parts as memorials of the interesting event. The gun lock was, by Dr. Nathaniel Lothrop, late of this town, presented to Rev. John Lothrop, of Boston, and by him to the Historical Society.

Pumatarkeam, the Sachem of Mount Hope, or Pokanoket, better known by his English name *Philip*, the most illustrious savage of North America, the most powerful enemy that was ever encountered by the English settlers, and who came near exterminating the whole English race in New-England.' Philip was unquestionably a man of superior talents, a great warrior, and a mighty chief, in whom rested the confidence and hope of the confederated tribes. On close examination of his character, it will appear that he possessed some virtues which ought to have inspired his enemies with respect, some traits of a benevolent heart which should be remembered with gratitude. But unfortunately for his memory, his character could be written only by his enemies, who in noticing his victories were obliged to record their own defeats, and whose prejudice naturally led to a false coloring of motives and actions. In Philip's character were combined the attributes of the patriot and hero, and it is unjust that his stern courage, and unconquerable spirit, should be regarded as mere savage ferocity. This celebrated chief was led by his sagacious mind to anticipate the impending fate of his race. The English were constantly increasing in numbers and strength, they were in possession of a considerable portion of the Indian territories, and the expulsion of the aborigines from the land of their fathers must inevitably be the consequence. Base indeed would have been his conduct had not Philip made every possible effort in favor of the preservation of his people. No chief of a numerous and powerful nation would tamely submit to annihilation without a struggle. His patriotic spirit was excited into action, and the noble deeds which he performed in 1676, in defence of his unfortunate people, would not suffer in comparison with those of the renowned heroes in our own cause in 1776, to whom has justly been awarded a large share of honor and fame. Had Philip been the conqueror instead of the vanquished, the whole race in this country would have celebrated his name with enthusiasm, and entwined round his brow laurels like those which have adorned the names of some of the most renowned heroes of antiquity. Who shall discern the difference between the noble heroism, and the loftiness of spirit, which is laudably displayed by the patriot in civilized life, and the same active virtues when glowing in the breast of the ignorant, untutored son of the forest? From the death of *Philip* may be dated the extinction of his tribe, and eventually the aboriginal race in New England. The termination of the sanguinary Indian war was an event of the utmost importance to the colonies, as during its continuance of about two years, they suffered a loss of thirteen

towns in all the colonies, six hundred dwelling houses burnt, and six hundred men slain in the flower of their strength; so that almost every family in New England was called to mourn the loss of a relation or friend.

The mode of warfare practised by Philip and his followers, by burning the habitations, and their murderous assaults upon the inhabitants, could not fail of spreading through the land inexpressible terror and dismay.

It can therefore be no matter of surprise that a vindictive and bitter spirit was excited among the English colonists against their enemies, but we have to lament the want of charity and candor in that eminent divine, Dr. Increase Mather. In speaking of the efficacy of prayer for the destruction of the Indians, he says, 'Nor could they cease crying to the Lord against Philip until they had prayed the bullet into his heart.' Speaking of the slaughter of Philip's people at Narraganset, he says, 'We have heard of two and twenty Indian captains, slain, all of them brought down to hell in one day.' Again referring to a chief who had sneered at the christian religion, and who had 'withal, added a most hideous blasphemy, immediately upon which a bullet struck him in the head and dashed out his brains, sending his cursed soul in a moment amongst the devils, and blasphemers in hell forever.'

When true religion warms the heart into philanthropy, there will be no rejoicing at the sacrifice of the lives of human beings, nor complacency in sanguinary revenge. The enormities of the Indians cannot justify enormities among christians, who being blessed with high intellect, should set before them examples of mildness and humanity. It is true that Philip, following the injunction and example of his father, was strongly opposed to the christian religion. Their own forms of religious worship were probably no less precious to them than the christian religion was to their opposers. When Rev. Mr. Eliot urged upon Philip the great importance of the gospel, he, taking hold of a button on his coat replied, that he cared no more for the gospel than he did for that button. Dr. Mather, in the year 1700, says, 'it was not long, before the hand which now writes, upon a certain occasion took off the jaw from the exposed skull of that blasphemous *leviathan*; and the renowned *Samuel Lee* hath since been a pastor to an English congregation, sounding and showing the praises of heaven, upon that very spot of ground, where *Philip* and his Indians were lately worshipping of the devil.' From the above data it appears that Philip's skull remained exposed 24 years or more.

The rage for war manifested by the natives, was by Dr

Mather and others ascribed to the influence of a diabolical spirit, and the Rev. Divine speaks of them in the phraseology of the times as if they were unworthy of christian sympathy. In a review of the treatment of the Indian prisoners by the colonists, the inquiry naturally arises to what extent the infliction of capital punishment could be considered as justifiable and proper. The position is allowed to be correct that a conquered foe should be rendered incapable of committing further enormities; retaliation nevertheless should be tempered with clemency, and human lives should be sacrificed no further than the public safety demands. The major part of the Indian prisoners, both old and young, of both sexes, were condemned to a punishment little less cruel than death, that of being sold into perpetual slavery; some were transported to Europe and to Bermudas, and others were domesticated among the English families. The principles of humanity as understood in more modern times would raise the public voice against such proceedings, unless the real safety of the conquerors rendered it indispensable. The punishment of death was inflicted on a number of the most notorious murderers of defenceless families and individuals. Eleven savages of this description were captured in July, 1676, four of whom were executed at Plymouth, and others at Boston. The base miscreants who assaulted the house of Mr. Clark at Plymouth and massacred the inhabitants, were justly excepted from mercy or quarter.

After the death of Philip, the government appointed a day of thanksgiving, and they awarded to Captain Church the miserable pittance of 30s. for each Indian captured and killed, for his invaluable services and imminent perils to which he had exposed himself for the benefit of the public. The remains of Philip's forces were now commanded by Annawan, long noted for his savage ferocity and numerous murders. He was one of Philip's great captains, and he narrowly escaped with 50 or 60 men from the swamp when Philip was killed. Wolf-like, he was prowling in the wilderness and rushing from his secret haunts to devour and destroy. The brave Captain Church was now desired to raise a small party of volunteers to hunt for this savage in the forests and swamps. His former worthy lieutenant, Jabez Howland, and a few of his old soldiers assured him that they would hunt with him as long as there was an Indian left in the woods. A few prisoners were soon taken, who informed that Annawan was ranging from swamp to swamp, never lodging 'twice in a place.' Church, calling his few men together, inquired, whether they would willingly go with him and give Annawan a visit.' 'All answered in the affirmative,

but reminded him that they knew this Captain Annawan was a great soldier, that he had been a valiant Captain under Philip's father; and that he had been Philip's chieftain all this war.' And further, that he was a very subtle man, of great resolution, and had often said, that he would never be taken alive by the English. They moreover reminded Captain Church that the soldiers who were with Annawan were resolute fellows, some of Philip's chief soldiers, and they very much feared that to make the attempt with such a small number, would be hazardous in the extreme. Mr. Cook, belonging to Plymouth, being asked by Church what was his opinion of the undertaking, replied,— 'I am never afraid of going any where when you are with me.' Captain Church, with unshaken resolution remarked to them, 'That he had a long time sought for Annawan but in vain,' and doubted not in the least but Providence would protect them.

Church, with his small party consisting of six Indians, and Cook, the only Englishman, proceeded and soon captured one of Annawan's Indians, and a girl, who consented to conduct them to the retreat of Annawan, and his company of 50 or 60 men. Their den was situated in Rehoboth, about eight miles from Taunton green, in an immense swamp of nearly 3,000 acres, in which was a small piece of upland, covered almost entirely by an enormous rock, which is still called *Annawan's rock*. This on one side presents an almost perpendicular precipice of 25 or 30 feet in height, on the other side it was less inaccessible and Church with two of his Indians ascended to its summit, from which he discovered the object of his pursuit, and his whole company by the light of their fires. They were divided into three parties laying at a short distance from each other; their guns leaning against a cross stick and covered from the weather by mats. Over their fires their supper was cooking. To any other man than Church a descent into this infernal den would be deemed an act of unjustifiable rashness. To him indeed the attempt was appalling, a forlorn hope, for if in sliding down the rock he should be discovered, instant death would be his fate, and if he should reach their camp with his six Indians and one Englishman, what would prevent the immediate sacrifice of the whole party? Church, however, being a man of religious zeal and full in the faith of the protection of Divine Providence, resolved on the perilous experiment. Hearing the noise of pounding corn in a mortar in the Indian camp, he thought it might favor his movements. He ordered his Indian prisoner, and his daughter, who were well acquainted with the place to lead the way, with their baskets at their backs as they had often done before, and Church and his men followed close in their

rear; holding on by the bushes that grew from the fissures of the rock, resting when the pounding ceased and advancing when that was renewed. Church suddenly leaped from the rock into the midst of his enemies, unharmed, with his tomahawk in his hand; instantly the old captain Annawan started up crying out '*Howoh, I am taken.*' Church and his men immediately secured their arms, and then calling on all the Indians to submit, who in their panic, supposed the English far more numerous than they were, yielded themselves as prisoners, and to prevent their making resistance they were told that Captain Church had encompassed them with his army, and that resistance would be in vain, but if they submitted peaceably they should receive good treatment. To this they readily consented, and surrendered up their guns and hatchets. Having thus far settled this great affair, Church asked Annawan, what he had for supper, saying, '*I am come to sup with you.*' Annawan replied, '*Sanbut,*' and ordered his women to provide supper for Captain Church and his company, inquiring whether he would eat cow beef or horse beef; he replied cow beef. Church and his little party remained in the Indian camp during the night, in the midst of his prisoners, being in number ten to one of his own men, but without sleep although he had not slept for the last 36 hours. His men were soon asleep, but Annawan was awake. Finding that Annawan could converse in the English language, they held much conversation together for more than an hour, when the chief retired, and being absent some time, Church became very anxious, suspecting some ill design. But he returned and falling on his knees before him, he thus addressed Church in English. "Great Captain, you have killed *Philip*, and conquered his country, for I believe that I and my company are the last that war against the English; so suppose the war is ended by your means; and therefore these things belong to you." He then presented him with what he said was Philip's royalties, with which he was wont to adorn himself when he sat in state, and he thought himself happy in having an opportunity to present them to him. The first was a beautifully wrought belt nine inches in breadth, and of such length, that when put about the shoulders of Captain Church it reached to his ancles. This was considered at that time of great value, being embroidered all over with wampum of various colors, curiously wrought into figures of birds, beasts and flowers. The second belt was also of exquisite workmanship, with which Philip used to ornament his head, and from which flowed two flags which decorated his back. A third belt was a smaller one, with a star upon the end of it, which he wore upon

his breast. All these were edged with red hair, which Annawan said was got in the country of the Mohawks.* To these splendid regalia were added two horns of glazed power and a red cloth blanket. The next morning, Church marched with his prisoners for Taunton; on their way they met with Lieutenant Howland, according to appointment, who was not a little surprised at this great exploit, having despaired of ever seeing him again alive. Church kept Annawan under his protection and conducted him to Plymouth as a prisoner of no small importance. 'Thus,' says Baylies, 'was this most daring enterprise successfully achieved by the prowess of one man. The capture of Annawan terminated the war, for all the subsequent expeditions were in pursuit of flying and skulking enemies. The English race in New England was saved from destruction, and placed in safety; for this great service Church received the thanks of the General Court of Plymouth, and nothing else! And he had also the mortification to find all his entreaties and prayers for the life of Annawan utterly disregarded, and this unfortunate chief, the last of the New England Indians, was beheaded at Plymouth—a dastardly act which disgraced the Government.' After this service, Captain Church induced Tissequin, another distinguished chief, to surrender himself as a prisoner. Tissequin was a noted Pawaw, and had impressed his simple people with the notion that his person was invulnerable to bullets! When he surrendered, Church, thinking he might be useful to him, invited him to join his service, and encouraged him that his life would be spared, and that he would make a captain of him. 'He came in,' says Mr. Hubbard, 'upon hopes of being made a captain under Church, but upon trial (which was the condition on which his being promised a captain's place did de-

* Mr. Josselyn in his account of two voyages to New England, says of the Indians, 'Their beads are their money; of these, there are two sorts, blue beads and white beads; the first is their gold, the last is their silver. These they work out of certain shells, so cunningly that neither *Jew* nor *Devil* can counterfeit. They drill them and string them, and make curious works with them, to adorn the persons of their Sagamores and principal men, and young women, as belts, girdles, tablets, borders for their women's hair, bracelets, necklaces, and links to hang in their ears. Prince Philip, a little before I came away for England, (1671,) coming to Boston, had a coat on and buskins set thick with these beads, in pleasant wild works, and a broad belt of the same; his accoutrements were valued at £20.'

'The English merchant giveth them 10s. a fathom for their white, and as much more, or near upon for their blue beads.' See description of Wampum in first part of this vol.

pend) he was found penetrable by the English guns, for he fell down upon the first shot, and thereby received the just reward of his former wickedness.' Respecting this extraordinary transaction, so irreconcilable with the laws of honor and probity, Judge Davis makes the following just remarks:—'This pitiful evasion, it may be hoped, belongs wholly to the historian; we are unwilling to believe that the authorities of the country would have resorted to such unworthy equivocation.' But an interesting inquiry is, what was the destined fate of King Philip's son? It appears that government were not prepared to dispose of this innocent youth, without the opinion and advice of learned Divines. The Rev. Mr. Cotton, of Plymouth, and the Rev. Mr. Arnold, of Marshfield, rendered their united opinion to the following purport:—'They humbly conceive, on serious consideration, that children of notorious traitors, rebels, and murderers, especially of such as have been principal leaders, and actors in such horrid villainies, and that against a whole nation, yea, the whole Israel of God, may be involved in the guilt of their parents, and may, *Salva republica*, be adjudged to death, as to as seems evident by the scripture instances of *Saul*, *Achan*, *Haman*, the children of whom were cut off by the sword of justice for the transgressions of their parents, although, concerning some of those children, it be manifest that they were not capable of being co-actors therein.'

The opinion of the Rev. Increase Mather, in a letter to Mr. Cotton, October 30th, 1676: 'If it had not been out of my mind when I was writing, I should have said something about Philip's son. It is necessary that some effectual course should be taken about him. He makes me think of Hadad, who was but a little child when his father, (the chief Sachem of the Edomites) was killed by Joab; and had not others fled away with him, I am apt to think that David would have taken a course, that Hadad should never have proved a scourge to the next generation.' But the Rev. James Keith, of Bridgewater, interposed as a more auspicious pleader in the cause of humanity: In a letter to Mr. Cotton, he says, 'I long to hear what became of Philip's wife and son. I know there is some difficulty in that Psalm, 137, 8, 9, though I think it may be considered whether there be not specialities, and somewhat extraordinary in it. That law, Deut. 24. 16, compared with the commended example of Amaziah, 2d Cron. 24. 4, doth sway much with me, in the case under consideration. I hope God will direct those whom it doth concern to a good issue. Let us join our prayers at the throne of grace with all our might, that the Lord would so dispose of all public motions and affairs, that his

Jerusalem, in this wilderness, may be the habitation of justice, and the mountain of holiness, that so it may be, also, a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down.' Mr. Keith was happy in his reference to 2d Chron.: 'But he slew not their children, but did as it is written in the law in the book of Moses,' &c.

It is consoling to our feelings to know that in the issue of this singular discussion, the life of the innocent boy was spared, although that life was for a price doomed to slavery. We readily coincide with Hon. Judge Davis in the following sentiment. 'The question, thus seriously agitated, would not, in modern times, occur in any nation in christendom. Principles of public law, sentiments of humanity, the mild influence of the gospel, in preference to a recurrence to the Jewish dispensation, so much regarded by our ancestors in their deliberations and decisions, would forbid the thought of inflicting punishment on children for the offences of a parent.'—*Memorial, Ap. p. 455.* Perhaps one exception may be admitted in the above remark, that of the unfortunate French Dauphin, in 1793.

Sam Barrow was a famous warrior in Philip's war, and for a long time dreaded as a ferocious enemy by the inhabitants. He was at length captured by Captain Church at Cape Cod. Church, in his history, says, that 'he was as noted a rogue as any among the enemy.' Church told him that the government would not permit him to grant him quarter, because of his inhuman murders and barbarities, and therefore ordered him to prepare for execution. Barrow replied, that the sentence of death against him was just, and that indeed he was ashamed to live any longer, and desired no more favor than to smoke a whiff of tobacco before his execution. When he had taken a few whiffs, he said, 'I am ready,' when one of Church's Indians, being prepared, sunk his hatchet into his brains.

The Rev. Roger Williams was a staunch friend to the natives, and was a great favorite among them. In Drake's Indian Biography is published a manuscript letter from this gentleman to the Governor of Massachusetts, dated Providence, 5. 8. 1654, which is as follows:

'At my last departure for England, I was importuned by ye Narraganset Sachems, and especially by *Nenecumant*, to present their petition to the high Sachem of England, that they might not be forced from their religion; and for not changing their religion, be invaded by war. For they said they were daily visited with threatenings by Indians, that came from about Massachusetts; that if they would not pray, they should be destroyed by war.' 'Are not all the English of this land, (generally)

a persecuted people from their native soil? and hath not the God of peace and the father of mercies made the natives more friendly in this than in our native countrymen in our own land to us? have they not entered leagues of love, and to this day continued peaceable commerce with us? are not our families grown up in peace amongst them? upon which I humbly ask, how it can suit with christian ingenuity, to take hold of some seeming occasions for their destruction?’

These primitive sons of the forest were the first possessors and masters of the country, and were not unworthy of christian sympathy as a vanquished people, who were not altogether destitute of commendable qualities. They were impressed with the belief that they were placed on these lands by the Great Spirit, and that they were given them for their sole benefit, and that no persons can, consequently, have a right to dispossess them of their native patrimony, their rightful hunting ground, and containing the sepulchres of their fathers. They were independent nations, and attached to their rights and liberties, which, with their lives, they valiantly defended. But they were conquered, and their posterity have been compelled to recede rapidly before a civilized people, relinquishing every prospect, every object that could be dear to their hearts. The small remains of the aborigines seem to be doomed to banishment, and to perish by lingering desolation in the unexplored wilderness, until the race shall be extinct! This subject will now be closed by the following anecdote, which shows that the present generation know how to appreciate the welfare enjoyed by their ancestors, and how to deplore the hard fate to which their descendants are destined. In the year 1789, a number of Indian Sachems assembled at New York, on a mission to President Washington. General Knox, as secretary at war, invited them to a dinner at his table. A little before dinner, two or three of the Sachems, with their chief or principal man, went into the balcony, at the front of the house, from which they had a view of the city, the harbor, Long Island, and the adjacent country. On returning into the room they appeared dejected. General Knox, noticing this, said to the chief, ‘Brother, what has happened to you? You look sorry! Is there any thing here to make you unhappy?’ He answered, ‘I will tell you, brother. I have been looking at your beautiful city, the great water, and rivers, your mighty fine country, producing enough for all your wants; see how happy you all are. But then I could not help thinking *that this fine country, and this great water was once ours. Our ancestors once lived here, they enjoyed it as their own possessions in peace; it was the gift of the Great Spirit to them and*

their children. At length the white people came here in a great canoe. They asked only to let them tie it to a tree, lest the waters should carry it away; we consented. They then said some of their people were sick, and they asked permission to land them, and put them under the shade of the trees. The ice then came, and they could not get away. They then begged a piece of land to build wigwams for the winter; we granted it to them. They then asked for some corn to keep them from starving; we kindly furnished it to them, they promising to go away when the ice was gone. When this happened, and the great water was clear, we told them they must now go away with their big canoe; but they pointed to their big guns round their wigwams, and said they would stay there, and we could not make them go away. Afterwards more white people came. They brought spirituous and intoxicating liquors with them, of which the Indians became very fond. They persuaded us to sell them some land. Finally, they drove us back from time to time, into the wilderness, far from the water, and the fish and the oysters; they destroyed the game, our people have wasted away, and now we live miserable and wretched, while you are enjoying our fine and beautiful country. This it is that makes me sorry, brother! and I cannot help it.'

The following is copied from the American Remembrancer, being an impartial collection of facts published in London during the Revolutionary war, for the year 1782, vol. xiv. p. 185.

Boston, March 12.

Extract of a letter from Captain Gerrish, of the New England militia, dated Albany, March 7.

'The peltry taken in the expedition, will, you see, amount to a good deal of money. The possession of this booty at first gave us pleasure; but we were struck with horror to find among the packages, eight large ones containing scalps of our unfortunate country folks, taken in the three last years by the Seneca Indians, from the inhabitants of the frontiers of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and sent by them as a present to Colonel Haldimand, Governor of Canada, in order to be by him transmitted to England. They were accompanied by the following curious letter to that gentleman:

'Tioga, January 3d, 1787.

'May it please your Excellency,—

'At the request of the Seneca chief, I herewith send to your Excellency, under the care of James Hoyd, eight packages of scalps, cured, dried, hooped and painted, with all the triumphal marks, of which the following is the invoice and explanation:

'No. 1. Containing forty-three scalps of Congress soldiers, killed in different skirmishes. These are stretched on black hoops, four inches in diameter, the inside of the skin painted red, with a small black spot, to note their being killed with bullets. Also, sixty-two of farmers, killed in their houses; the hoops painted red, the skin painted brown and marked with a hoe, a black circle all round, to denote their being surprised in the night, and a black hatchet in the middle, signifying their being killed with that weapon.

'No. 2. Containing ninety-eight of farmers, killed in their houses; hoops red, figure of a hoe to mark their profession, great white circle and sun, to show they were surprised in the day time, a little red foot, to show they stood upon their defence, and died fighting for their lives and families.

'No. 3. Containing ninety-seven of farmers; hoops green, to show they were killed in the fields, a large white circle with a little round mark on it for the sun, to show it was in the day time; black bullet mark on some, a hatchet on others.

'No. 4. Containing one hundred and two of farmers; mixture of several of the marks above, only eighteen marked with a little yellow flame, to denote their being of prisoners burnt alive, after being scalped, their nails pulled out by the roots, and other torments. One of these latter supposed to be of an American clergyman, his band being fixed to the hoop of his scalp. Most of the farmers appear, by the hair, to have been young or middle-aged men, there being but sixty-seven very grey heads among them all, which makes the service more essential.

'No. 5. Containing eighty-eight scalps of women, hair long, braided in the Indian fashion, to show they were mothers; hoops blue, skin yellow ground, with little red tadpoles, to represent, by way of triumph, the tears of grief occasioned to their relations; a black scalping knife or hatchet at the bottom, to mark their being killed by those instruments. Seventeen others, hair very grey; black hoops, plain brown color, no marks but the short club or casse-tete, to show they were knocked down dead, or had their brains beat out.

'No. 6. Containing one hundred and ninety-three boys' scalps, of various ages; small green hoops, whitish ground on the skin, with red tears in the middle, and black marks; knife, hatchet, or club, as their death happened.

'No. 7. Containing two hundred and eleven girls' scalps, big and little; small yellow hoops, white ground; tears, hatchet, club, scalping knife, &c.

'No. 8. This package is a mixture of all the varieties above-

mentioned, to the number of one hundred and twenty-two, with a box of birch bark, containing twenty-nine little infants' scalps, of various sizes; small white hoops, white ground; no tears, and only a little black knife in the middle, to show they were ripped out of their mothers' bellies.

'With these packs the chiefs send to your Excellency the following speech, delivered by Conicogatchie, in council, interpreted by the Elder Moore, the trader, and taken down by me in writing:

'Father!—We send you herewith many scalps, that you may see we are not idle friends. *A blue belt.*

'Father!—We wish you to send these scalps over the water to the great King, that he may regard them and be refreshed, and that he may see our faithfulness in destroying his enemies, and be convinced that his presents have not been made to an ungrateful people. *A blue and white belt, with red tassels.*

'Father!—Attend to what I am now going to say. It is a matter of much weight. The great King's enemies are many, and they grow fast in number. They were formerly like young panthers. They could neither bite nor scratch. We could play with them safely. We feared nothing they could do to us. But now their bodies have become as big as the elk, and strong as the buffalo. They have also great and sharp claws. They have driven us out of our country for taking part in your quarrel. We expect the great King will give us another country, that our children may live after us, and be his friends and children as we are. Say this for us to our great King. To enforce it, give this belt. *A great white belt, with blue tassels.*

'Father!—We have only to say further, that your traders exact more than ever for their goods; and our hunting is lessened by the war, so that we have fewer skins to give for them. This ruins us. Think of some remedy. We are poor, and you have plenty of every thing. We know you will send us powder and guns, and knives and hatchets. But we also want shirts and blankets.' *A little white belt.*

'I do not doubt but that your Excellency will think it proper to give some further encouragement to these honest people. The high prices they complain of, are the necessary effect of the war. Whatever presents may be sent for them through my hands, shall be distributed with prudence and fidelity.

'I have the honor of being your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,
JAMES CRAWFORD.'

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